

Street vending and its ability to **produce** space

The case of the Tepito market in Mexico City downtown area

May 2015

Thesis submitted by

Lila Rubí Oriard Colín

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of philosophy (Ph. D.) in Development Planning

University College London

Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment

Development Planning Unit

I, Lila Rubí Oriard Colín, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Newly arrived and totally ignorant of the Levantine languages, Marco Polo could express himself only with gestures, leaps, cries of wonder and of horror, animal barking or hootings, or with objects he took from his knapsacks which he arranged in front of Great Khan like chessmen.

As the seasons passed and his missions continued, Marco mastered the Tartar language and the national idioms and tribal dialects. Now his accounts were the most precise and detailed that the Great Khan could wish and there was no question or curiosity which they did not satisfy.

Italo Calvino, Invisible Cities

Acknowledgments

This thesis wouldn't be possible without the help of many people, not all of them appear in the list, but I would like to express my gratitude for all the support received during the preparation of this work.

I would like to express my recognition to the Council of Science and Technology (CONACYT) which sponsored this work, and to the UCL Graduate School who financed a field trip to Mexico City.

Grateful thanks go to my main supervisor Prof. Yves Cabannes, for his constructive critique, guidance, and valued friendship; and to my secondary supervisor, Dr. Robert Biel, for his confidence, valued friendship and important contributions to the theoretical aspects in my work. I appreciated the discussions with the DPU professors and colleagues which helped me to give form to my ideas; especially those with Prof. Caren Levy, Prof. Julio Dávila; and, my Ph.D. colleagues, Dr. Marina Chang, Héctor Becerril, Sebastián Gática, Chloé Fevre and Karol Yañez.

I am deeply thankful to the members of the Tepito community, especially to key informants, who kindly dedicated their time and patience, and helped me to understand this fascinating neighbourhood. Specifically, I would like to name Mario Horta, Carlos Llamas, Mario Puga, Fernando Ramírez, Alfonso Hernández, Luis Arévalo and Lourdes Hernández. I received important support from Guadalupe Hernández and Beatriz Hernández, the leaders of the Aztecas Street Vendors Association, and from Aarón Gutiérrez and his family.

My recognition goes to the Institutions and officials that accepted an interview and kindly shared valuable information with me, especially Alberto Martínez from the Secretariat of Social Development of the Mexico City Government. I would also like to show my appreciation to the Urban Laboratory of National Autonomous University of Mexico (PUEC-UNAM), especially Dr. Alicia Ziccardi and Fabiola Cedillo, and the Urban Department of the National Polytechnic Institute (IPN), especially Dr. Aleyda Resendiz, which gave me the opportunity to discuss my ideas in their seminars where I received valuable feedback.

Many thanks go to Jaime Oriard Colín, Lewis Mason Rattray, David Bradley Hooks and Rubén Gutierrez Nesme for their valuable support during the edition of the document.

All my gratitude to my examiners, Prof. Alison Brown from Cardiff University and Dr. Caroline Newton from DPU-UCL for the discussion held during the VIVA and the valuable comments that enriched the thesis.

Finally, but most importantly, to my family and close friends who have been essential in this process and supported me in many valuable ways, especially Jaime Oriard Meaney, Celia Colín Robles and Jaime Oriard Colín.

Abstract

Street vending is a widespread phenomenon in the cities of the so-called developing countries. However, city planning systems have responded to the situation in a limited way, among other factors, because street vending is inherently difficult to regulate, especially from current paradigms of 'public space' (Brown 2006, Bhowmik 2010, Cross and Morales 2007).

Street vending is explored in this thesis as an evolving and complex system that has become capable of transforming space; this perspective represents an original contribution to knowledge. Street vendors, I argue, understand the commercial potential of the streets and are able to create attractive and vibrant marketplaces. However, their entrepreneurial activities might contribute to the increase in the land value of the streets, and to the establishment of new spatial relations, which tend to transform the public domain into a 'commercial asset' affecting the organisation of the neighbourhood. To support such argument, the thesis uses Systems Theory as a general approach, analysing how the interrelationships between 'vendors' and 'space' contribute to the transformation of space into a 'product'. The 'Production of Space' Theory developed by Henri Lefebvre in 1974 is used to formulate the research problem.

The case of the Tepito market in Mexico City was used to explore three hypotheses that might explain the capacity of street vending to produce space. The first concerns the relationship between the city authorities and the street vendors, and how their alliances have empowered the commercial system. The second analyses the capacity of the commercial system to create social and spatial structures at different territorial scales. Finally, the third explores the effects of the expansion of the commercial system in relation to the organisation of the Tepito neighbourhood.

Table of contents

2.1	Research problem	29
2.1.1	Defining production of space	30
2.1.2	Defining city sustainability.....	35
2.2	Discussing relevant debates	39
2.2.1	Capitalism and its landscapes	39
2.2.2	Resilience and transformation	49
2.2.3	Configurations of space	59
2.2.4	Social space	62
2.3	Definition of the hypotheses	73
3.1	Case study and research methods.....	83
3.1.1	The case study	83
3.1.2	Method 1: Historical review	94
3.1.3	Method 2: Multi-scale spatial analysis.....	95
3.1.4	Method 3: Social space decoding	104
3.2	Case historical review	108
3.2.1	The Tlatelolco market and the Aztec empire (- 1521).....	109
3.2.2	Pre-origins of the Tepito market (1521 – 1950).....	112
3.2.3	The Tepito street market (1950 – 1970).....	122
3.2.4	The <i>fayuca</i> market (1970 - 1990).....	127
3.2.5	Tepito as a global street market (1994 - 2010).....	139
3.3	Case specific analyses.....	146
3.3.1	Theme 1 – Growing empowerment	146
3.3.2	Theme 2 – Enhancing commercial efficiency	150
3.3.3	Theme 3 – Ravaging the neighbourhood.....	154
4.1	The role of city authorities	160
4.1.1	The Ernesto Uruchurtu administration (1952-1966).....	161
4.1.2	The Camacho Solís administration (1988-1993).....	168
4.1.3	The PRD city administrations (2000-2012).....	173
4.2	The role of the street vendors.....	179
4.2.1	The incipient organisation of street vendors (1950s and 1960s)	179
4.2.2	The formation of the unions (1970s).....	181
4.2.3	The consolidation of the Aztecas street market (1980s).....	184
4.2.4	The political crises and the street vending reorganisation (1990s)	185
4.2.5	Aztecas street market as a permanent structure (2000s)	188

4.3	Integrated management structure and the form of the streets	191
4.3.1	City government level.....	192
4.3.2	Local government level.....	194
4.3.3	Street scale authorities	197
4.3.4	The street market as a multi-layer property	200
4.4	Chapter Conclusions	203
5.1	The North Sector as a ‘commercial apparatus’	207
5.1.1	The closed-markets that constitute commercial nodes	208
5.1.2	Major commercial corridors.....	210
5.1.3	Specialised secondary streets	211
5.1.4	The diversity of street markets	213
5.1.5	The <i>plazas</i>	215
5.1.6	Rows of shops	217
5.1.7	Additional market facilities.....	218
5.2	A socio-spatial analysis of the ASVA on Aztecas Street.....	221
5.2.1	The market’s capacity to create employment	221
5.2.2	The street vendors’ arrival to Aztecas Street	222
5.2.3	The street vendors relation to the neighbourhood.....	224
5.2.4	The market as a long-term family investment.....	228
5.2.5	A commercial analysis of the market.....	229
5.2.6	Rented street-stalls	235
5.2.7	Different categories of street vendors.....	237
5.3	Tomas’s street-stall on Aztecas Street.....	240
5.3.1	Tomas’s capabilities	240
5.3.2	The diversity and specialisation of products.....	242
5.3.3	Tracing commodities: the case of the wrestling masks.....	243
5.3.4	Tracing commodities: the case of the imported Chinese leather wallets	247
5.4	Chapter conclusions.....	250
6.1	The socio-spatial organisation of the neighbourhood.....	252
6.1.1	The centres of the neighbourhood	253
6.1.2	Parks and public facilities.....	258
6.1.3	Uses and housing typologies	260
6.2	Transformation of the <i>vecindad</i> No. 63 on Aztecas St.....	262
3.2.1	The <i>vecindad</i> in the 1960s	262
3.2.2	The reconstruction and current form of Aztecas No. 63.....	267
6.3	Transformation of the <i>vecindad</i> No. 4 on CT Street.....	274
3.3.1	The <i>vecindad</i> in the 1960s	275
3.3.2	Transformation of the <i>vecindad</i> and current uses.....	278
6.4	Chapter conclusions.....	284

List of figures

Figure 1 World informal street markets.....	48
Figure 2 Street vending ‘production’ of space.....	75
Figure 3 Location of the case study.....	84
Figure 4 The North Sector in relation to the city centre	85
Figure 5 The North Sector	87
Figure 6 Seminario square (LO 2012)	89
Figure 7 El Carmen Street (LO 2012).....	90
Figure 8 Aztecas Street (LO 2011)	91
Figure 9 Tepito core area (LO 2012).....	92
Figure 10 <i>Vecindad</i> on Caridad Street (LO 2012)	93
Figure 11 Aerial view of Tepito’s core area.....	94
Figure 12 The North Sector scale.....	97
Figure 13 Aztecas Street plan.....	99
Figure 14 Aztecas Street image	100
Figure 15 Stall 141 on Aztecas Street	101
Figure 16 The <i>vecindad</i> at Aztecas No. 63	103
Figure 17 <i>Vecindad</i> No. 4 and local shops	104
Figure 18 Historical review (see Annex 3)	109
Figure 19 City markets in Mexico City in the early 20 th century	117
Figure 20 Tepito street market in the 1920s.....	119
Figure 21 Tepito market extended to the San Bartolomé <i>Plaza</i>	119
Figure 22 <i>Vecindades</i> in Tepito.....	120
Figure 23 Closed markets built in 1957.....	125
Figure 24 Murals by Mario Manrique, Tepito Arte Acá	128
Figure 25 Housing estate in Tepito	130
Figure 26 Collective organisation after the 1985 earthquake.....	133
Figure 27 Example of a ‘renovation unit’	134
Figure 28 <i>Plazas</i> constructed under the 1993 Street Vendors Relocation Programme ..	137
Figure 29 Analyses corresponding to Theme 1	147
Figure 30 Analyses corresponding to Theme 2	151

Figure 31 Analyses corresponding to Theme 3	155
Figure 32 Example of a <i>plaza</i> on Costa Rica Street.....	173
Figure 33 Leader Guillermina Rico	182
Figure 34 Nested territories on Aztecas Street.....	202
Figure 35 Two kinds of street vendors displaying goods on a fabric	213
Figure 36 Street vending as ‘shop extensions’	214
Figure 37 Different typologies of stall structures	215
Figure 38 Storage facility and the transport of goods.....	219
Figure 39 Tomas’s stall in Aztecas Street	243
Figure 40 Place of production of wrestling masks	244
Figure 41 Manufacturing of wrestling masks	245
Figure 42 Production-distribution chain and product added value	246
Figure 43 Wallets production-distribution chain	249
Figure 44 Transformation of the Tepito centre.....	255
Figure 45 Alternative social centre in Tepito	257
Figure 46 La Conchita church.....	257
Figure 47 Parks in relation to the street market.....	259
Figure 48 Uses of the <i>vecindad</i> in the 1960s.....	264
Figure 49 Renovation unit on Aztecas No. 63.....	268
Figure 50 Current uses of the renovation unit.....	271
Figure 51 <i>Vecindad</i> No. 4 on CT Street	276
Figure 52 Uses and spatial relations in the 1960s.....	277
Figure 53 Current uses and spatial relations.....	279
Figure 54 Physical and social decay on CT Street.....	281

List of maps

Map 1 Tlatelolco-Tenochtitlán in relation to the Aztec empire	110
Map 2 The North Sector in relation to the Aztec cities	111
Map 3 The Spanish city in relation to the North Sector	113
Map 4 Expansion of the city in the 19 th century	116
Map 5 Relocation of street markets to the city periphery	118
Map 6 The expansion of the City in 1927	121
Map 7 Expansion of street vending after the construction of closed markets	126
Map 8 Expansion of street vending in the 1990s	131
Map 9 Commercial form of the City Centre and North Sector in 2007	144
Map 10 Markets constructed in 1957	164
Map 11 <i>Plazas</i> constructed in 1993	171
Map 12 <i>Plazas</i> constructed in 2007	176
Map 13 Historic Centre 2011-2016 Master Plan	178
Map 14 Street vendors' moving to the Aztecas Street market	190
Map 15 North Sector as a commercial apparatus	207
Map 16 Commercial nodes	208
Map 17 Major commercial corridors	210
Map 18 Specialised street markets	212
Map 19 Distribution of <i>plazas</i> in the North Sector	216
Map 20 Distribution of local shops in the North Sector	218
Map 21 Distribution of parking facilities	220
Map 22 Periods of arrival of street vendors	223
Map 23 Street vendors living in the city centre and the surrounding areas	226
Map 24 Housing typologies of vendors living in the city centre	227
Map 25 Specialisation in the Aztecas street market	232
Map 26 Participation of vendors in the production of goods	233
Map 27 Origin of goods	234
Map 28 Rented stalls	236
Map 29 Centres of the neighbourhood	254
Map 30 Parks and public facilities	258
Map 31 Distribution of housing typologies	261

List of tables

Table 1 Urban expansion and economic growth from 1950 to 1980	124
Table 2 Urban expansion and economic growth from 1980 to 2005	142

List of appendices

Annex 1 Survey done to the ASVA on Aztecas Street	309
Annex 2 Results of the analysis applied to the ASVA database	311
Annex 3 Historical review	315
Annex 4 Comments on the article about street vendors in the historic centre	316
Annex 5 Details about key informants and the information they shared	319

Acronyms

ASVA	Aztecas Street Vendors Association – west side Asociación de Comerciantes 1a de Aztecas - acera poniente
CETEPIS	Centre for Tepito Studies Centro de Estudios Tepiteños
COABASTO	Department of Provision and Distribution in the Federal District Coordinación General de Abasto y Distribución del Distrito Federal
COPEVI	Operational Centre for Housing and Human Settlements (NGO) Centro Operacional de la Vivienda y Poblamiento A.C.
IFE	Federal Electoral Institute Instituto Federal Electoral
INDECO	National Institute for Development and Urbanism Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo y Conurbación
INEGI	National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Information Technology Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática
IMSS	Mexican Institute of Social Security Instituto Mexicano de Seguro Social
INAH	National Institute of Archaeology and History Instituto Nacional de Arqueología e Historia
INEGI	National Institute of Statistics and Geography Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía

MCMA	Mexico City Metropolitan Area Zona Metropolitana de la Ciudad de México
NS	North Sector
PRD	Party of the Democratic Revolution (left-wing party) Partido de la Revolución Democrática
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party (centrist governing party) Partido Revolucionario Institucional
SAGARPA	Secretariat of Agriculture, Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food Secretaría de Agricultura, Ganadería, Desarrollo rural, Pesca y Alimentación
SEDESOL	Secretariat of Social Development Secretaría de Desarrollo Social
SEDUFI	Secretariat of Urban Development and Housing Secretaría de Desarrollo Urbano y Vivienda
SEGOB	Secretariat of City Government Secretaría de Gobernación
SPD	Undersecretariat of Special Programmes for Boroughs Subsecretaría de Programas Delegacionales
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, Ciencia y Cultura

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is about street vending and its ability to transform space. Street vendors, I argue, are able to understand and to use the commercial potential of public spaces to create highly organised and attractive marketplaces. However, street vending might become a powerful and resilient commercial system able to induce a process of spatial transformation; a tipping point in the evolution of a territory. This transformation is largely negative, as street vending utilisation of space tends to change the organisation of the neighbourhood and to establish new spatial relations based on its own commercial logic and its own profit-making interests.

The concept of 'production of space' refers to a process that is driven by an intention; from this perspective space is not randomly organised, it is 'produced' (Lefebvre 1974). The commercial system uses and 'produces' the neighbourhood as 'a support' to facilitate commercial transactions. The resulting form of space, as a tangible asset and as a social construct, is not a mere ramification of the street vending use of space, but it is a specific 'output'. The new organisation of space allows the commercial system to increase its efficiency and be able to use, and therefore enhance, the commercial potential of a place.

However, the process of 'production' requires the modification of the neighbourhood, which directly affects the local community. The transformation of the neighbourhood into a commercial organisation reduces the available places for social interaction, changes the socio-spatial relations that space 'contains', decreases the control that the community has over space and its capacity to deal with the difficulties associated with the commercial uses of the neighbourhood. The objective of this work is to understand the factors that guide this process of transformation and the potential consequences for community sustainability.

When I was a child, I used to go to the city centre with my mother to buy all kind of goods in the shops and streets, especially during Christmas. I appreciated the vitality of the market and the colours and diversity of things displayed. It was a vibrant experience and, even when the place was crowded and noisy, I enjoyed it nonetheless. I grew up free from the prejudices against street markets and vendors, which are common among the

Mexican middle classes. For me, they were part of my daily life, and I considered them a 'normal' feature of the city.

I became interested in street vending as an object of study in 2007, after the eviction of 15,000 street vendors from the Mexico City's Historic Centre. I chose this topic because, as a planner, I wanted to understand how street vending works in order to envisage ways of integrating the activity to the city planning system.

In 2009, I wrote two articles for a renowned city blog called 'Citizens in the net'¹ where I proposed to consider street vending as part of the city centre and to integrate it in a convenient form, see Annex 4. I was strongly criticized, receiving more than 70 comments of which, the vast majority were negative. In the comments, local residents talked about the difficulties of using the sidewalks and the tensions and violent conflicts they had faced with street vendors; a battle for the streets. These comments seriously grabbed my attention; it was clear that I was missing a part of the story.

In 2011, in one of my visits to Mexico City, I went with my mother to La Merced, a food market, in the city centre. This time, a street vendor asked my mother to get out of the way. My mother had to wait to find space to move in the street, but the vendor hit her with the cart he was pulling, arguing that she was invading 'his place'. In these cases, people passing by used to react in defence of the street as a 'common' available-for-all, not as an exclusive property for street vendors. But this time nobody reacted, not because people accepted the situation, but because nobody wants to get involved in confrontations with the street vendors in this area, who have become very aggressive.

Street vendors protect their territory and businesses; by doing so, they start destroying the 'natural' function of the streets and the codes that regulate them as a collective asset. In fact, streets in many developing countries work as an asset that can be spontaneously appropriated by individuals, but at the same time remain a shared, negotiable asset in which diversity and flexibility are the main features².

¹ The online articles and the comments are available at:

URL: <http://ciudadanosenred.com.mx/comercio-en-la-calle-como-parte-del-espacio-urbano-pero-de-manera-organizada/>

URL: <http://ciudadanosenred.com.mx/el-centro-ya-no-es-lo-mismo-sin-sus-ambulantes-de-antano/>

² Streets in Mexico as in many other cities in developing countries can be appropriated temporarily for many different activities such as recreation, vending, parking, or even living in the streets, which does not require formal permission. This makes streets vital places with their own spontaneous social life: always changing and becoming

The presence of street vendors in public spaces is a problem that some authors (i.e. Monnet 2005, Bhowmik 2010) consider to be an association of poverty and underdevelopment by the upper classes, especially in globalising cities; but, I argue that it is also a real conflict which takes place at the street level. This conflict is illustrated by my own experience in the streets and by the reaction of the readers to my articles. The conflict regards the 'social form' of the street, which becomes a sort of 'private property', more as a shopping mall than as a 'collective-appropriable' asset that belongs to the community. This happens at street level, but the transformation of space also takes place at larger scales.

Defining 'street vendors' and 'street vending'

I refer to street vendors as persons selling in the streets. The varieties and forms of vending can be diverse, as well as the different profiles of the individual street vendors. These profiles include urban poor, but also middle classes and qualified entrepreneurs making substantial profits. This concept enlarges the entire group to actors closely related to the market. This group includes, for example, the leaders of the street vendors whose primary concern is the control of the territory, and the people that at some point decided to stop vending in order to start renting their vending place to someone else as the market acquired commercial value.

The term 'street vending' refers to the different groups of street vendors and the commercial structures they form in space. These commercial structures include the services that support the market's activity, for example storage places, parking facilities for customers, provisioning centres, etc.. I consider that both, the street vendors and the market's spatial structures, work together, as an organised 'body', forming a commercial system.

These definitions help me to look at the relations that are established between different groups of street vendors and the complex 'form' they give to space. In summation, I propose to understand street vending not only as an activity that regards the 'open spaces', but to look also at the multiple associations it establishes in space. This

many 'things' in short periods of time. This function is important to understand the nature of street vending as a spontaneous appropriation of space.

perspective is particularly important to understand the relation between street vending and its capacity to produce space.

Contributions of street vending to the functioning of cities

Street vending is not necessarily destructive. On the contrary, it contributes in many positive ways to the functioning of cities and societies, especially in the cities of the Global South³. These important contributions are explained in the following paragraphs.

Creation of employment is one of the most important contributions of street vending to societies and cities in the Global South. After investigating some broad percentages, the extent to which street vending contributes to the total employment in some regions becomes evident. In Africa, street vending contributes between 10% to 20% of the total employment, while in Asia to 6% and in Latin America to 3% (International Labour Organization, 2002). This shows that in some regions of the developing world people are finding more opportunities in street vending than in other sectors, but even in Latin America, where the percentage is lower, street vendors have an important presence in the streets. It should be considered that street markets serve as distribution points for commodities manufactured by family organisations operating in the informal sector. Thus, street vending also contributes indirectly to support employment in other related functions of the production-distribution chain.

Another important contribution is that this activity promotes social inclusion in an economic activity, especially for vulnerable categories such as urban poor, migrants, elderly people, women, etc. In fact, street vending plays a relevant role in protecting the livelihoods of the urban poor, as has been pointed out by Alison Brown (2006). In Mexico City many vendors are women at the head of the household, thus the whole family depends on this activity.

The capacity of the street trading system to include the urban poor is related to the fact that street vending requires little capital to start a business (De Soto 1989), which is one of the important advantages of this activity. In fact, depending on the location and ability

³ The North-South is a term which broadly divides the world into a socio-economic split. The North refers to North America, Western Europe, Australia, and Japan while the South refers to Africa, Latin America, and Asia. In general terms, the North refers to the developed countries while the South refers to the so-called developing countries. This definition has been proposed to prevent notions of 'developed' versus 'underdeveloped' or 'advanced' versus 'backwards' regions, which implies a vision in which there is only 'one possible path' to development and some countries are in a forefront position in relation to others.

of the vendor, the streets can be fertile ground to start up profitable businesses with small capital. This potential the streets have is still not fully recognised by city planning and design.

From the consumers' perspective, street vending offers goods and services in convenient localities in response to local demands. For example, in Mexico, people spend considerable amounts of time moving from the place they live to the place they work, so they cover some of the consumption needs of their daily life while in-transit. Street vending adapts to best identify the needs of these people and finds places that facilitate such consumption (Monnet 2005).

In the case of the old city street markets, customers come from far away regions to find convenient prices and a large variety of commodities they may demand. As Cross (2005) has pointed out, street vending offers commodities to the poor that otherwise would not be affordable for them. This is a relevant contribution as it facilitates consumption for the lower social categories.

The following point is not a contribution of street vending proper, but rather a relevant feature. Street vending as an activity can easily adapt to many situations and circumstances. Vendors can move from one place to another as a 'nomad' activity or rather stay in a single place. They can display goods directly in the street over a cloth, or they can use supports such as beds or carts or even cars (Meissonnier 2006). It can become a permanent activity with fixed or removable structures. They can change the commodities they sell to adapt to new demands or establish relations with local shops and even residents. The capacity of adaptation of the activity may explain why it is able to 'negotiate' its place in physical terms and also in terms of the role it plays in the actual functioning of cities and societies.

The contributions mentioned before show that street vending is not necessarily a problem, but rather a functional, resilient component of cities. Street vendors are not disappearing as in the 'vendors-free-city' some globalising cities are trying to promote. Yet, in many cities a comprehensive integration of street vending to the city planning systems is still far from being achieved or even started. This can only be possible if societies and authorities recognise the contributions of street vending to the cities as an opportunity, and from this point move towards the implementation of suitable policies.

Defining 'the problem' of street vending in relation to cities

In spite of the contributions of street vending to the cities, authorities tend to apply policies to clean the streets of vendors. One explanation is that the paradigm of the Modern city is still an ideal of societies in the Global South (Cross and Morales 2007). In addition, the production of a 'world-class city' is important in the process of city globalisation in order to place cities in the Global map and attract capital investments (Ingallina 2005, Zukin 1991). Thus, globalising cities implement beautification⁴ projects that promote an image of a city 'clean' of vendors. Hence, the problem of street vending is not the activity itself, but the kind of 'city image' that city governments and societies desire.

In Mexico, negative representations of the street vendors have reached an extreme level; they are considered the 'plague' of society and a major city problem (Monnet 1993). Besides the negative representations of street vending, I argue that there are real difficulties in integrating this unregulated activity to the city planning system. These difficulties consist in outlining a 'formal' regulation, to an activity that works efficiently, precisely because it operates within the 'informal' codes and uses of the streets.

The rapid expansion of the cities and the increase in the number of street vendors should urge city authorities to provide a framework with some element of formality. This framework requires, on one hand, an understanding of the logic of street vending in order to give it manoeuvrability so it keeps working efficiently, and on the other hand the establishment of limits to protect city diversity and the actual functioning of public spaces as flexible and appropriable assets for all. The potential of the streets for running businesses has not been considered from the first stages of city design and planning.

The problem of creating a frame for street vending is in some cases contested by the street vendors themselves, who don't want to be integrated formally to the city planning system. The current situation gives street vendors power and freedom to run their businesses on their own terms. Indeed, autonomy of the organisation and operation of the street market is an important condition for ensuring the efficient functioning of street vending in Mexico City.

⁴ Term used by Jane Jacobs (1961) referring to projects of city renovation, and in some cases transformation; the main objective is to create a beautiful image of the place neglecting its social and economic functioning.

As explained, street vending may reach a point of empowerment, a tipping point, in which it becomes a destructive feature of cities. This especially happens when the street market becomes a valuable location in monetary terms, which vendors tend to territorialise and transform for the sake of their own commercial benefit. To prevent this from happening, there needs to be a greater level of inclusive planning and a framework for the market's growth needs to be established. Research about the evolution of street vending and its relation to cities represents a gap in the literature that this research attempts to address.

Positioning the thesis in relation to relevant debates

From the perspective of development theories, street vending is not seen as a symptom of a 'backwards' position in relation to developed countries, but rather as an adapted response to the needs of urban societies. The idea of the 'other path to development' was proposed by Hernando De Soto (1989), shedding new light to the concept of 'informality'. He made two important contributions to understanding informal economy⁵. The first is that informality works precisely because it is 'informal'. This is because it is not regulated, and thus people can manoeuvre to develop business opportunities by taking their own initiative. In fact, the moment when authorities formalise the informal economy, it loses some of its most fundamental characteristics.

The second contribution of De Soto (1989) in respect to the informal economy regards the economic logic of informality. The economic efficiency of this kind of economy is achieved because it uses assets that do not represent a cost in terms of money. For example, a house is used to manufacture, the street is used as a selling point, family members are involved in the business directly or indirectly, etc. This economy is accessible to many people, especially low-income groups as it requires little capital investment to start a business. Indeed it works on the basis of 'labour' rather than 'capital'.

As a matter of fact, regulations in modern economies favour capital-intensive investments by giving them subsidies and incentives, while regulating labour. De Soto argues that when the rules of the neoliberal economy are applied to the informal sector then the payment for wages, licenses, vending places etc. increases the costs of the

⁵ *Informal* is used here in the sense of an economy that is not regulated by the State. *Formal* refers to legal and institutionalised codes, while informal refers to codes that are not institutionalised. Clear codes may exist but they lack legal form.

activity. The efficiency of this economy is then affected, as rules respond to a 'capital-intensive economy' while the 'informal economy' works under a labour-intensive logic. Hence, the problem of 'informality' is that the rules that try to frame it, when they exist, do not fit the logic of this economy.

Following the logic of this argument, I argue that the problem of street vending has less to do with the vendors not conforming to actual rules and regulations and more to do with a lack of rules and regulations that respond to the logic of this activity. Regulations and city planning tools need to consider the economic logic of street vending, while at the same time protect the city as a diverse, a social construct 'open to all'.

In many cities in the world street vending operates without regulations, or without breaking any regulations. City authorities have no choice other than to tolerate street vendors to a certain degree, because of the economic efficiency of the system, the services and demands vendors cover, and also the employment opportunities it offers. Therefore, the challenge is to understand which aspects need regulation, and which are best left unregulated in order to allow the economy to flourish to a certain extent, but without endangering the essential attributes of a 'city' as a collective construct.

Literature about street vending, especially in Latin America, focuses on the relationship between street vendors and the city authorities. The work of John Cross 'Informal politics' (1988) about street vendors in Mexico City is a seminal text⁶. This 'informal' relation between vendors and authorities can explain the empowerment of street vending and the way it integrates into the city using political strategies. This integration happens even if the activity is prohibited by legislation.

To understand the relation between the street vendors and the government, it is essential to understand the way street vending ensures access to public spaces. However, this perspective on its own cannot explain the manner in which street vendors are transforming a territory, i.e. the 'production' of space.

The spatial perspective of street vending has not been explored so far. French geographer Jérôme Monnet (2005) has examined the relationship between street vending and urban mobility. He observed five different crossroads in Mexico City, and showed how the form of vending and the kind of products sold adapt to the characteristics of the places. For example, crossroads located in middle and upper class areas offered different goods than

⁶ The relation of street vendors and the City government in Mexico City has been further researched by Crossa 2009, Lodoño 2011 and Castillo Berthier 2005

those in low income areas. This perspective highlights the close correlation between locational attributes and street vendors. The work of Alison Brown explores the importance that public spaces represent for street vendors, especially the poor, as an asset that supports their activity and livelihoods (Brown 2006). These researchers relate street vendors to space, but they address the topic from a sociological perspective, as the transformation of the space itself remains unaddressed.

A straightforward work on the relation of street vendors to the cities in the Global South is the work done by Rem Koolhaas and the students from Harvard (Harvard Project on the City 2001). They used the case of the city of Lagos in Nigeria to give innovative insights into the actual functioning of this metropolis.

Koolhaas suggests that Lagos is not catching up with Western cities, but that they will be catching up with Lagos instead. This perspective emphasises that cities in the Global South are not only taking a different path, but they are transitioning faster, especially towards a more extensive 'business oriented' use of their cities' public spaces.

In this study, Koolhaas and the students (2001) develop a chapter about street markets, more like a set of insights rather than proper research. They give a number of ideas about how street vending can use the city to develop business models. For example, they describe how in some minutes a traffic jam can be transformed into a dynamic marketplace. In another example, they explain how people have blocked some parts of a highway so that vehicles are obliged to take secondary streets, bringing new clients to the businesses of the local communities. These examples highlight how people use their capacity to recycle urban structures and city 'dysfunctions' and transform them into entrepreneurial opportunities. Koolhaas suggests that this potential is driving cities in the Global South towards a new city paradigm.

Koolhaas' insights on Lagos (2001) were an important source of inspiration for this thesis. Specifically, I use the idea of space working as a 'double organisation': a highway working as a marketplace. I extrapolate this idea to conceptualise the double organisation of a territory: a community milieu working simultaneously as a marketplace. I focus on one case to explore the relationships within this double organisation and its transformation over time.

This research covers a gap in the literature regarding the relation between street vending and its capacity to transform space. To do this, the research perspective combines a

sociological approach to space with a spatial approach, considering both aspects in a dialectic relation.

Argument and original contribution

The research's argument is that at some tipping point, street vending can become a 'producer' of space. This is a powerful system able to dominate the spatial organisation of the local community for the sake of increasing the commercial efficiency of the street market. The problem of this 'production' is that it reduces the 'social life' of the local community by reducing the spaces for social interaction and changing the organisation of the neighbourhood. I argue that this reduction affects the capacity of the local community to keep its social cohesion and its natural resilience to adapt over time; this is a problem of sustainability.

To define this conceptualisation, I use Systems theory as a general approach. Systems theory looks at general organisations and attempts to understand their functioning from a holistic perspective. In contrast to perspectives that only focus on 'linear' relations of cause and effect, a systemic perspective searches to understand connections between different elements that work together to form a 'unit'. This perspective is suitable to analyse the transformation of a territory.

To formulate the research problem, two concepts were used; 'production of space', developed by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1974), and 'sustainability' as proposed by Folke by investigating socio-ecological systems (et al. 2003). Two main ideas were used from Lefebvre's theory. The first idea is that Modern space⁷ is contradictory as guided by two opposing logics: space as an 'instrument' for capital accumulation and as a 'social milieu'. These logics are related to different values of space: the use-value of space and its exchange-value⁸. I use this idea to explore street vending ability to generate exchange-value of space.

The second idea is that space becomes a 'production' when the exchange-value of space dominates, and as a consequence, subordinates its use-values, impeding the use of space

⁷ 'Modern space' in a capitalistic perspective refers to the organisation of a territory that results from industrialisation; this is reflected in the massive construction of housing estates, industrial poles, transport systems, and city planning. This perspective highlights the use and organisation of cities and territories as a support for capital accumulation, besides its social functions.

⁸ Exchange-value and use-value are concepts from Marxist theory applied by Henri Lefebvre to space studies. More details are in the theory chapter.

for its social, non instrumental, aims by the community. I explore the contradictory relation between the commercial and the community organisation of space. Using Lefebvre's idea, I argue that a conflict arises when street vending is able to 'subordinate' the use-value of space; related to the functioning of the community. A capitalistic perspective on the phenomenon emphasises power relations within the general system. Robert Biel's (2010) concept of adaptive capitalism is important in this work to bridge the gap between Lefebvre's ideas and Systems theory.

The concept of 'production of space' is used in the context of 'sustainability' to build the problem of the research. The study of sustainability in socio-ecological systems shows that the increase of efficiency of a system produces an increase in its vulnerability. This idea is used in the context of the organisation of the territory as a double-functional object. I propose to look at the increase in the efficiency of the market to organise spaces in relation to the increase in vulnerability of the general system. The vulnerability is produced as a consequence of the reduction of spaces for social interaction, and the modification of the way community interacts. Production of space is then seen as a progressive 'specialisation' of the neighbourhood for the function of profit-making in relation to street vending, which leads the territory to lose its necessary resilience.

These two concepts: production of space and sustainability, are the thesis theoretical foundations. The research answers to the following question: Which are the factors that enable the street vending system to transform the territory into a commercial organisation?

Three processes are explored to answer this question: (1) the empowerment of the street vending system, (2) the capacity to form a complex socio-spatial organisation in order to enhance the efficiency of the commercial system, and (3) the depletion of the neighbourhood as a necessary condition to use the territory as a support of the commercial organisation.

I argue that these processes play a relevant role in the progressive transformation of a territory into a 'product'. The factors were proposed as the result of the discussion of related debates (theory) and the confrontation with the study case (empirical experience). To understand the transformation of space I use the precedent of the Tepito market in Mexico City, specifically the area denominated North Sector. The analysis started with an overall revision of the process over time, focusing on the interplay of the forces dominating the general organisation in each stage. I then chose specific processes to analyse in-depth, as they reveal important aspects of the transformation.

The case was selected with the following criteria. Firstly, it represented a clear double organisation tending towards domination by the market logic. Secondly, this transformation was promoted by the capacities of the street vendors and the local community as an autonomous, grassroots organisation. Thirdly, the role that space played in this process is clearly visible. The use of the case study helped me to understand and conceptualise the correlation between a powerful street vending system and the general organisation of a territory. During the preparation of this thesis I carried out a four months research mission in Ahmedabad, India, which focused on the integration of street vending policies to the city planning system. The experience helped me to articulate the research while distancing myself from the particularities of the case in Mexico.

Three methods were used to look at the case: (1) a historical review, (2) Multi-scale Spatial Analysis applied to the market and the community organisations at multiple scales, and (3) Social Space Decoding, which refers to the way people think about space, their spatial practices and the way they make sense of its 'syntax'. This word is used by Lefebvre as a metaphor to describe space as a culturally and socially codified language. The historical 'review of the case' and the 'social space decoding' are methods related to Henri Lefebvre's theory. Multi-scale Spatial Analysis is a method created in this research, articulating spatial analysis at multiple scales. This method was created to understand the connections between the different elements of space, at different scales.

The original contributions of the research regard four aspects: the conception of street vending as a social and spatial integrated system, the relation of street vending to wider city processes, the ability of the commercial system to create socio-spatial structures at multiple scales, and the development of an innovative method of analysis to explore the market's connections in space.

At the higher theoretical level, the original contribution of this research is to propose an understanding of the 'process' of space transformation, which is driven by the logic of street vending as a powerful system. I am arguing that street vendors are not only 'using' space, but that they are 'producing' its form and 'changing' its values in a radical way. This conception has implications for city planning systems, and intends to fully recognise the economic potential of the streets and open spaces in the cities of the Global South, but also the limitations of the activity.

Organisation of the document

The document is organised into seven chapters; the first three correspond to the introduction, theory and methods used in the research; chapters 4, 5 and 6 are dedicated to the case study, and the last one is dedicated to the conclusions. Chapter 1 is the introduction.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework. The chapter is divided in three parts, one explaining the research major theories; the second presenting related concepts from relevant debates; and the third proposing the hypothesis and a diagram that sketches the process of transformation of the neighbourhood as a consequence of the expansion of the street vending system.

Chapter 3 explains the research methodology. This Chapter is divided in three parts. The first part includes details about the study case and the methods used in the research. The second part presents a historical review of the case showing the factors that lead to the transformation of the place in relation to the consolidation of the street market. The third, and last part, explain the specific analysis developed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 and give details of how these analyses contribute to the research argumentation.

Chapter 4 is the first dedicated to the case study. The Chapter explores the relationship established between the street vendors and the city authorities, and how this alliance gives access to space, and decision-making power, to the street vending unions. The Chapter is divided in three parts corresponding to the specific analyses. The first part explores the role of the city authorities in the process of empowerment of the commercial system. The second part gives details of the role played by the street vendors, emphasising their capacity to consolidate a street market over time. The third part, describes the functioning of the street market management structure to argue that the street vendors have actually integrated the city planning system despite their illegal status.

Chapter 5 explores the socio-spatial organisation of the street market in multiple scales. The Chapter is divided in three parts, each corresponding to a different scale. The first part explores the sector-scale. It shows the capacity of the commercial system to give a 'commercial form' to a territory at a large scale. The second part describes the different profiles of vendors and their distribution on space at street-scale; this part emphasises the kind of 'asset' that the street becomes for different kind of street vendors. The third part gives details of the functioning of a single street-stall; the analysis shows the

capacity of qualified vendors to enhance the performance of the business, thus, increasing the commercial value of the streets.

Chapter 6 looks at the relation between the expansion of the commercial system and how it affects the organisation of the neighbourhood. The Chapter is divided in three parts. The first part looks at important elements for social interaction such as parks, *plazas*, housing typologies etc., and look at how these spaces have been affected by the street market. The second part presents an analysis of the transformation of the uses of a *vecindad* and its relation to the streets. The objective is to show that previously the houses and the streets formed a 'social and economic unit', reinforcing the local economy. Nowadays the commercial role of the streets dominates the organisation of space; housing plays a secondary role almost as a 'support' of the activities taking place in the streets. The third part presents a similar analysis but using a case where shops distributing drugs spread. The analysis objective is to argue how the commercial activities render the neighbourhood vulnerable and facilitate the development of socially destructive activities.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents the conclusions of the research. The Chapter presents the major features of the 'production of space' by street vending, discusses the theoretical contributions, proposes topics that would require further research and drafts some ideas to take into account in the formulation of a policy on street vending.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

This thesis argues that street markets positively contribute to the social fabric of cities. However, when a tipping point is reached, and street vending has become a powerful system, with little to no oversight, social dynamics begin to change and the place is transformed under the direction of commercial interests. After this occurs, a territory works more like a commercial organisation rather than as a neighbourhood. To explore how street vending transforms space to fit its own commercial logic, I use two main concepts: the first one is 'production of space', as defined by Henri Lefebvre (1974), and the second is 'city sustainability', as applied to socio-ecological systems.

This chapter is divided in three parts. In the first part, I present two theories that support the research's main argument: Lefebvre's theory of production of space and sustainability in the context of socio-ecological systems. In the second part, I discuss debates and concepts that come from different theories in order to construct and enrich the research hypotheses. In the third and final part, I present a flowchart that proposes an interpretation of the production of space by an empowered street vending system and its effects on space and the local community.

2.1 Research problem

The research uses Systems theory as the general approach; this theory is particularly suitable to understand the transformation of a territory as a complex 'body' under the influence of multiple logics from a holistic perspective. This approach focuses on the factors, or 'patterns', that drive the general organisation in a certain direction instead of focusing on isolated aspects. For example, the human body can be considered a complex system. A systemic approach involving human disease will be used to understand, holistically, the factors that cause the problem rather than concentrating attention on specific parts of the body.

The problem of the research is constructed from the concept of 'production of space', as defined by Henri Lefebvre (1974), used in the context of Systems theory. By doing this, I propose to understand street vending as a 'pattern' of organisation of a territory, which tends to produce 'space' as a commodity. Street vending follows a commercial logic, which enters into contradiction with the 'community organisation' of a place.

The term 'community organisation' refers to the 'pattern' of organisation of a territory which does not follow a commercial logic; it is based on the place's use-value. This organisation includes the places used by the community for social interaction such as *plazas*, parks, public buildings, streets, and the kind of sociability particular to each community such as the organisation of festivities, use of the patios to play, chat, etc.. The 'community organisation' is used in opposition to the 'commercial organisation' of space, to emphasise that the organisation is not driven by the interests of profit.

The concept of sustainability in socio-ecological systems is used to argue that as a territory increases its commercial efficiency, it also increases its vulnerability as a neighbourhood. This is related to the fact that street vending seeks to enhance the efficiency of the organisation of a territory to increase the profitability of the street-businesses. However, the increase of efficiency implies a reorganisation of the territory that might affect the 'community organisation' of the neighbourhood; this is the places used for social interaction, the community 'rituals' and the social relations knitted on space.

The concept of 'production of space', in the context of Systems theory, is reformulated as a problem of city sustainability. The hypothesis is that the organisation of space as 'a production', more efficient in commercial terms and guided by profit-making interests, modifies the relations that the community establish in space and increasing the vulnerability of the neighbourhood.

2.1.1 Defining production of space

The theory of 'production of space' was proposed by Henri Lefebvre in 1974. This theory belongs to a Marxist approach to cities⁹ and it is used in this thesis to construct the research problem.

⁹ Some of the authors in the 1960's that criticized modern space as lacking in comprehension of a city's social life are Jane Jacobs 1961, Lewis Mumford 1968, and Lefebvre 1968.

‘Capital represents itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, created as use-values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital’ (Lefebvre 1974).

Production of space refers to the process in which space, i.e. the city¹⁰, tends to become ‘a commodity’, an object of exchange, land for sell rather than a social milieu. He uses the word ‘production’¹¹ to emphasise a radical shift in the history of the ‘city making’ process. In fact, modern space is different from previous ‘natural’ and social organisations of space; it is an objective-driven process resulting in a strategically planned form of space.

‘A territory or region that has a powerful and centralised organisation does not have a lack of means or ambition: it produces a harmonious national space and orders the ‘wild’ urbanisation that did not obey other logics except for financial gain. These spaces are products. They are shaped from a “raw material”, i.e. nature. They are products of an activity that involves the economy; furthermore, they are political products, strategic places. This “strategy” includes a diversity of projects and actions and the use of resources’ (Lefebvre 1974: p.102; translation by LO).

Lefebvre argues that the process is guided by the greed of capital accumulation in lieu of a desire to address social needs. The form of space and the social practises that space contains are no longer an expression of the community’s organisation and its social cohesion, but rather interactions that reflect a capitalistic society.

‘[Social] space and [social] time are not ‘natural’ facts, more or less modified, neither simple facts of culture; they are ‘products’ (Lefebvre 1974; translation by LO).

Cities are strategic places for capital accumulation processes. Lefebvre (1968) explains how urban centres played an important role in the expansion of capitalism during industrialisation, especially in Europe. These centres provided labourers at a lower cost, infrastructure and raw materials, permitting capital accumulation.

¹⁰ Lefebvre uses the word ‘city’ with a specific connotation. The city is a place characterised by social interaction and cohesion. He uses the word ‘space’ to describe other organisations, for example a modern residential area that displays almost no social life; for Lefebvre, the problem of space is the destruction of the ‘urbanity’ of the city, its essential attribute.

¹¹ Lefebvre distinguishes between a process that is similar to a ‘creation’ and a process akin to a ‘production’. Creation is to some extent a work of art, a craft, something that evidences human genius. Venice, for example, is a ‘created’ city, even when it was an economic and commercial hub. In contrast, the modern housing estates are ‘produced’ as in an assembly-line production, as an object to be commercialised.

‘The settlement of industry on the outskirts of the city was not satisfactory; the industry settled as near as possible to the urban centres. Conversely, the city that existed before industrialisation fed the process; in particular, it promoted the increase of productivity. The city has played an important role in the development of industry. The industry could do without the ancient city (pre-industrial, pre-capitalist) and constituted agglomerations in which the urban character is depredated. However, where a network of ancient cities pre-existed, the industry assailed it. It takes over the network, modifies it to its own needs. It attacks, assaults, takes over, and ravages the city, destroying ancient city centres by exploiting them’ (Lefebvre 1968: p.6; translation by LO).

Recent studies suggest that as capitalism evolves, especially under globalisation, the role of the cities and specific territories adapts to fulfil its needs and increase its benefits (Biel 2010, Sassen 1991).

Lefebvre’s conceptualisation of space is very rich and complex. He argues that even if space moves towards commodity, it will never completely lose its social, non-capitalistic form; it can be reduced but never completely eliminated. In this way, Lefebvre’s conception of space is compatible with the Systems theory. The city becomes a complex object in which two different kinds of organisations co-exist: space as a social milieu and space as an instrument for capital accumulation.

‘Space is a product that is used and consumed. However, it is also a means of production; a network of exchanges, a flux of raw materials and energies that shape space and are determined by it. Space as a means of production, produced as such, cannot separate the productive forces, techniques or knowledge from its inner nature. It cannot separate either the social division of work that shaped it, the environment, or the state and its super-structures’ (Lefebvre, 1974: p.102; translation by LO).

I argue that when a threshold is crossed, street vending can give a capitalist form to the city, becoming a ‘producer of space’. To support this idea, I use three main concepts from Lefebvre’s theory: the first is related to the kinds of ‘values’ attributed to space; the second is related to the subordination of the social organisation to the commercial organisation; and the third refers to the power structures that guide all of the processes involved. These concepts are explained in detail in the following paragraphs.

Lefebvre applies the Marxist concepts of 'use-value' and 'exchange-value' to explain a radical transformation of space¹². The organisation of the city as a social milieu is related to the use-value of space. In fact, space has a value to society as it is used to cover basic needs and reinforce social cohesion. On the other hand, a city's organisation maximises profit in relation to the exchange-value of space. In this case, space acquires monetary value tending towards becoming an instrument to make profit.

Street vending can generate exchange-value of space. Street vendors, by using the streets over time, create attractive markets and add commercial value to the places they use to sell. As the market becomes an attractive hub and vendors appropriate space, they may start renting their place to newcomers, as this is a good business practise. At another scale, the neighbourhood starts becoming a specialised market area. This concept is useful to propose street vending not only as another 'private user' of public space, such as the space a vehicle uses to park, but as an activity that might generate exchange-value of space. This is a significant distinction, especially for city planning, because this means that street vending can transform a territory in a radical way.

The second idea regards the relation of subordination between the use-value and the exchange-value of space. In fact, Lefebvre argues that to generate the exchange-value of space, a subordination of the use-values is required. In order to sell 'something', control and exclusivity of that 'object' is required; a similar process happens with space. This commodification process destroys the nature of public space as a negotiable and 'open-to-all' asset. The subordination of the community's use-values to the place's exchange-value is the central feature of a 'production of space'.

'The city and the urbanity (community) raise the use-value of space. The exchange-value, the generalisation of the commodification process due to industrialisation, tends to destroy the city and the urbanity, refuges of the use-value, by subordinating them' (Lefebvre 1960: p. 4; translation by LO).

I suggest that street vending tends to subordinate the use-values of space to enhance the performance of the commercial system. Production of space refers to the process that establishes a relationship of subordination between the use-values and the exchange-

¹² Marx defined a product's use-value in relation to the characteristics that enable it to satisfy human needs. Exchange-value is the monetary price of a product. Lefebvre applied these concepts to modern space by suggesting that capitalism uses the use-value of space as an instrument and transforms it into a commodity: an exchange-value.

values of space. In the case of street vending, I explored the mechanisms that explain how the commercial system becomes dominant and able to generate exchange-value of space, especially the streets.

The third idea involves the association of power. Lefebvre argues that the capacity to subordinate the use-values of space, i.e. produce space, can be understood as the expression of powerful groups, namely political and economic ones. He uses the example of Paris in the late 19th century when it was transformed under the power of Napoleon III and in response to the needs of the emerging bourgeoisie (Lefebvre 1968: p. 104).

'[Social] space is a [social] product. Some people may not accept the fact that space has taken the form of a kind of reality, based on the same global processes as merchandise, money and capital; but in a distinct way. Space produced thus serves as an instrument of thought and of action; in addition to being a means of production and a means of control, hence a means of domination and power. Yet, as such, it cannot be completely controlled by those who would make use of it. Social and political forces that engender this kind of space try to control it, but they cannot. Those that force spatial reality towards a kind of autonomy, which is impossible to dominate, try to exhaust it and fix it in order to subjugate it' (Lefebvre 1974: p. 35; translation by LO).

In the case of street vending, I argue that when it can become a powerful system, it is able to subordinate the social organisation of space for the benefit of the economic dynamism of the commercial system. This shows that radical transformation can take place from within the social system itself.

Manuel Castells (1972)¹³ criticised Lefebvre, his professor, for idealising a homogeneous 'urban society', almost like a victim of the political and economic power of the state and the upper classes. His work, Castells argues, does not reveal the internal divisions and tensions framed by contradictory interests. This critique is relevant to the research as I propose to illustrate the divisions among the community and to show that local street traders are willing to use the neighbourhood's assets and community spaces to further develop individual or family businesses. Thus, this case shows that the use-values of space can be subordinated by local groups allied with political and economic actors.

¹³ In *The Urban Question*, Manuel Castells (1974) develops his critique to H. Lefebvre, his professor. The major critiques may be found in chapter I. The myth of urban culture (p. 205-116).

The problem of production of space, as conceptualised by Lefebvre, is that the city loses its attributes as a social milieu, an essential feature. The destruction of urbanity is related to the depletion of the social relations established within space. In the case of the market, people have less time and motivation to organise community events, and children cannot play in the streets occupied by the market, etc. Besides this, other dynamics related to the increase of the commercial value of space may appear. For example, specialisation of shops for external clientele, reduction of services for local customers, the increase in living costs and the demise of social groups. In fact, middle classes may tend to move away to less crowded and more peaceful neighbourhoods. Hence, 'production' of space contributes to the depletion of a community's cohesion by altering the organisation of the place. The neighbourhood might tend to become a disconnected group of residents rather than a community.

The theory of 'production of space', developed by Henri Lefebvre (1974), is used to support the following ideas. Firstly, the process in which space becomes an 'asset' is not a mere, unexpected ramification; it is an 'intention'. Street vending 'produce' space to enhance the efficiency of the commercial system. Secondly, street vending is a commercial system guided by the interest of profits, able to generate exchange-value of space. As a result of this generation of exchange-value, a tension is produced between the exchange-value and the use-value of space. Thirdly, the subordination of the use-value of space affects the local community and the social interactions taking place in space.

2.1.2 Defining city sustainability

Sustainability comes from the Latin word *sustinere*, meaning *to hold*. It was defined in 1987 by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development as the use of the environment and resources to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. ('Our common future' UN 1987).

The concept of 'city sustainability', from the Systems theory approach, refers to the capacity of human settlements to persist over time without exhausting the resources of the environment. Sustainability from this approach refers not only to environmental issues, but also to social, spatial and economic dimensions, their interactions and exchanges.

‘Sustainability implies maintaining the capacity of ecological systems to support social and economic systems’ (Folke et al. 2003).

The concept of a socio-ecological system (SES)¹⁴ is particularly relevant because it looks at how communities interact with ecological systems and form a ‘unit’ with the natural environment. This concept looks at the relationship of the community with its environment, and how this relationship evolves over time and changes the attributes of both. In fact, this perspective is relevant because there is a dialectic relationship between the street vendors and the place they use for their vending activities; they change the place but their activity is also influenced by the pre-existing attributes of the place.

‘Sustainable systems are systems that persist, but also evolve and change. Growth is important, but even more so are the forces in a healthy system that dominate during episodes when growth is halted or reversed, when deep uncertainty explodes, when several alternative forces become suddenly perceived and unpredictably explode. The essence of sustainability cannot be defined from metaphors of growth, equilibrium, and stability. Rather it is defined from metaphors of novelty, memory and instability’ (Holling in Folke et al. 2003).

Recent research has shown that the evolution of a socio-ecological system may present a positive correlation between the increase and use of its potential and the escalation of its vulnerability (Folke et al., 2003; Holling, 2002). For example, in forestry there may be a kind of tree that is favoured over others in commercial terms. This may be because the wood is of a better quality and can be sold at higher prices. The increase in the number of this kind of valuable tree represents an increase in the commercial potential of the system. Other kinds of trees may have less value. In a forest, there are certain elements, for example, different kinds of trees or animals that repeat their function in the system, which is called ‘redundancy’. The presence of these redundant elements inevitably reduces the efficiency of the environment to make a profit. However, it has been observed that a kind of ‘less valuable’ and ‘redundant’ tree may prove critical in the case of a disaster or catastrophe, like a plague. For example, this kind of tree may have attributes that enable the system to resist an epidemic or recover after a disaster has

¹⁴ This concept was developed by researchers in the area of sustainability and resilience, from a systems theory approach (Acheson, 1987; Greenberg, 1994; Levin, 1999; Berkes, 1999; Holling, 2001; and Folke, 2003, in Folke et al. 2003).

occurred, assuring the persistence of the forest. Thus the reduction of this variety may lead to an increase of vulnerability of the socio-ecological system in the long term.

The example of the forest shows that if the system is guided by commercial efficiency, it tends to lose redundant attributes that may become important for the system to deal with alterations to the environment, thus increasing the system's vulnerability.

'Growth of a cell or a society occurs gradually. It builds potential that accumulates slowly and it creates two conflicting attributes—increasing potential but also increasing vulnerability. Increase in potential roughly represents an increase in wealth represented in those structures that acquire, store, maintain and use potential. Increase in wealth gives potential for alternative futures. The increase in vulnerability comes from increase in structure, that adds complexity but also fragility. As a consequence, eventually cells can die and societies can revolt. Growth then stops or reverses' (Holling in Folke et al. 2003: p. xv).

I applied the concept of socio-ecological systems to the study of a territory organised, simultaneously, as a commercial and as a community organisation, documenting its evolution over time. I use the term 'socio-spatial system' rather than 'socio-ecological system' as the latter is more related to a natural environment, like a forest, than to an urban setting.

A territory is an appropriated space by a social group. Two ideas are attached to this notion, one is the control by a ruler or state exerted on a certain area, and the second is a certain degree of exclusion. The concept was developed in the 1960s and used to understand the dynamics that drive a process of appropriation of space (Di Melo 1988). Depending on the definitions, some focus more on the political dimension or on the subjective aspect of the territory. I use the concept as defined by Di Melo, which recognises three aspects. Firstly, the political dimension which refers to the power which acts on an area, a local authority or a government. Secondly, a functional dimension which refers to the economic actors, the characteristics of the place and the fluxes taking place on that specific area. Thirdly, to the subjective dimension which refers to the mental representations and cognitive systems linked to an area (Di Melo 1988). I used this concept to describe a double appropriation of space, one as a commercial organisation in conflict with that of the local community.

The hypothesis derived from this operation is that street vending might increase the commercial efficiency of a territory, producing an increase in the vulnerability of the neighbourhood, as a secondary effect. This might occur because the emerging

organisation of a territory tends to create relations based on commercial interests, which affects the neighbourhood and the spaces it needs to keep its 'social life'. I argue that spaces for social interaction, and the social relations space 'support', are important for the preservation of the community over time. The organisation of festivities, the use of streets for playing and gathering, the diversity of local shops, and other similar elements might be considered redundant and 'unnecessary' for the street vending commercial organisation. However, these elements are important to keep the community's social cohesion, which is essential for a society to keep working together and thriving over time.

The vulnerability of the neighbourhood is related to the occupation of the spaces used for social interaction and the modification of the social relations established in those places. For example, courtyards in Tepito are used to organise dancing sessions, festivities, as a playground for children, etc., if the patio stops working as a place for social interaction, the community lose a place where its cohesion is reproduced. Vulnerability is also related to the loss of diversity of uses, family occupations, and social categories.

A similar idea was suggested by Jane Jacobs (1961), when she described the neighbourhood's 'success as self-destruction'. In her work she refers to the process in which a place becomes successful, attracting outside visitors. This forges an environment where the local shops evolve into more profitable businesses, such as bars and restaurants. This dynamic lends itself to specialisation and an increased cost of living, destroying the diversity that made the place attractive. In her work, she was arguing that these economic dynamics may devastate the social 'life' of cities.

Resilience is a key component in sustainability debates; it refers to the ability to cope with shocks and maintain the basic functions of a system. When this concept is applied to cities, it becomes more complex, as resilience can be applied at different scales to individuals, groups and also territories. I propose to look at resilience as a force that can help communities adapt and survive during stressful situations, but also in a capacity that can modify the community itself, not always in a sustainable direction. I propose to apply the concept of resilience at multiple entities within the system: individuals, groups, management structures, configurations of space (only spatial dimension) and socio-spatial organisations (social and spatial relations). Resilience is a useful conceptual tool to understand transformation, i.e. production of space, as a more dynamic process in which there are evolving forces at multiple levels able to change the dynamics of a territory. Specifically, I used it to understand the empowerment of the street vending

system from multiple dynamics and the incapacity of the residents to keep stewardship over open and public spaces against the commercial dynamics. This will be explained in detail in the next chapter section where relevant debates are presented.

The sustainability of the neighbourhood may be understood as the capacity of the community to persist over time. This capacity is related with the resilience of the community; this is its ability to cope with disturbances and adapt while maintaining the unity of the social organisation. I use the concepts of sustainability and territorial resilience to argue that the increasing efficiency of the street vending commercial system, related to the 'production of space', must be framed to prevent the neighbourhood to become 'vulnerable' as a consequence of losing its social cohesion and control of space. This idea is the core of the research problem and is explored in detail through the study case.

2.2 Discussing relevant debates

The debates related to this research are divided into four parts. The first part presents capitalism as an adaptive system and the integration of street vending to the Global economy (Biel 2010, Sassen 1991, Alba Vega and Labazée 2007). In the second part, I discuss the concept of resilience applied to a community and a territory, and its role in the transformation of socio-spatial systems (Folke et al. 2003). In the third part, I explain the concept of configuration of space, this concept is useful to explore how street vending organise a territory, and form coherent arrangements reflecting its commercial logic (Lynch 1960, Lefebvre 1974). Finally, in the fourth part, I present the metropolis as a socio-spatial system and introduce the mechanisms that regulate public spaces as ambiguous, negotiable assets in cities of the Global South (Duahu and Giglia 2008).

2.2.1 Capitalism and its landscapes

Capitalism can be considered a system that uses and transforms the city to enable it to carry out its economic operations. It may constitute a dominant pattern of organisation that gives 'form' to specific territories. This occurs in 'glamour zones', as named by Sharon Zukin in her book *Landscapes of Power* (1991), referring to areas where corporate firms settle and change the surroundings. Yet, I argue that street markets, pre-

capitalistic forms of economic exchange, can adapt to a capitalistic form and integrate global economic networks searching for profit making strategies. The increasing role of these markets in the transnational distribution of commodities and their economic power constitutes a force that dominates certain city landscapes.

Capitalism as an adaptive system

Robert Biel has worked on the concept of 'capitalism' as an adaptive system; that is, a system that can change its organisation into different forms for the purpose of expansion, similar to a living organism (Biel 2010, 2012). However, the difference between a human-driven system and a capitalist system is that the essential function of the former is to 'survive' while a capitalist system's essential function is to 'accumulate'¹⁵. This means that capitalism, by its very nature, cannot remove itself from its aim of accumulation, no matter the extent to which it is able to adapt. This is a principle that will persist.

'We have to see that the 1970's crises in fact sparked off two contradictory forms of adaptation: an adaptation by capitalism and another where the agent is humanity. The two remain basically antagonistic simply because any adaptation of capitalism must prolong its core identity, the accumulation drive, and if humanity is to survive it must get rid of this' (Biel 2010: p. 3).

The importance of this concept is to bridge the gap between two bodies of theory: Marxist capitalism and Systems theory. The concept of capitalism from a systemic perspective becomes a less mechanistic economic system. In the case of street vending as a commercial, capitalistic system it appears as a more flexible and decentralised organisation. However, it can be considered capitalistic to a certain extent as it is mainly driven by accumulation aims, which can only be achieved through the exploitation of resources, in this case space.

A relevant concept for this work regards the 'feeding relations' among and within systems (Biel 2010). This concept proposes to look at 'energy' exchange, particularly during accumulation processes. Biel emphasises that accumulation is only possible through exploitation; 'energy' cannot be created out from nothing, it must be extracted

¹⁵ Accumulation is defined by Robert Biel as an opening of floodgates to appropriation, not just of physical resources, but also information. He argues that it is capital accumulation which makes inappropriate development turns, rather than social progress (Biel 2010: p. 10).

from alternative non-capitalistic systems, namely social and/or ecological systems. The idea is used to argue that to make money out of the streets (extract 'energy' from space) is only possible by exploiting people and space as a resource for many social groups, not only street traders.

Biel argues that economic growth cannot be generated purely from itself, nor can it multiply spontaneously as is suggested by economists such as Keynes or Walt Rostov's self-sustained growth theory. Thus, the process of accumulation can be understood as the result of exchange of 'energy' with other systems (Biel, 2010: p. 2). I use Biel's concept to explain the process of 'empowerment' of the street vending system as a result of exchange relations with external systems, especially with political and economic organisations.

However, street vending is a complex system in and of itself. If considered as a whole, a dominant organisation of space, then it appears clearly as a system that exploits space and social relations, i.e. a capitalistic system. But, if we look at the social composition of the system, it can be seen that there are many groups of vendors, mostly poor, that use the streets to survive, as a way to sustain their livelihoods. Street vending is then organised by both human-survival forces and capital accumulation aims. This is a relevant attribute of the system that is frequently neglected in policy making processes.

As argued before, 'power' is important to explain the domination-subordination relationship that is necessary to achieve an accumulation of capital. Biel's ideas are used to propose the following hypothesis (2010). The 'subordination' of the use-value of space and the social relations it 'contains', is not only a mere consequence of capital accumulation processes, it is a necessary condition to 'open the floodgates' for accumulation. The destruction of the territory as a neighbourhood, at least to a certain extent, is needed so that the commercial organisation can control space as a valuable resource to increase profits.

'In Rosa Luxemburg's view, accumulation can only proceed through the step-by-step commodification of a hinterland of hitherto non-monetarised social relations; presumably when everything is commodified, it would hit a limit' (Biel 2010: p. 3).

Biel also suggests that exploitation also implies control over communities and people that have some stewardship over resources. In the case of street vending, the capacity to use the streets as a business asset depends on the capacity of the traders to control space

for their exclusive use. Control of the traders over a space also reflected in their ability to establish codes and mechanisms to enforce this use. To get the control of the streets for commercial exploitation, street traders tend to minimise other groups use of streets, as well as their capacity to negotiate its codes. The tendency to control of space for exclusive use is at the core of the problem with street trading in the Global South, especially in profitable locations. The problem regards not only the transformation of the street/space into a commodity but the decrease of the diversity of uses of the street and its use-value.

'Power is a category of both thermodynamics and society. A feedback loop results, whereby, in controlling resources, you control people, and in controlling people, you grab the resources over which they previously exercised stewardship. This loop generates ongoing circuits which—assuming a life of their own, separate from and antagonistic to those of nature—will eventually overwhelm the latter. The promised freedom (from neoliberal discourses) is then reduced to a removal of restrictions on accumulation' (Biel 2010: p. 2).

In relation to the increase of vulnerability of the community, this not only occurs as an increase of efficiency of the general system as suggested by Folke et al. (2003), but as a result of exploitative relations within the system. I suggest that street vending controls space so it can render it efficient for the market by absorbing the cost of depleting the community organisation and its relations to space. This idea is an adaptation of the concepts of 'sustainability' of socio-ecological systems and Biel's 'adaptive capitalism'.

To summarise, two ideas from Biel's 'adaptive capitalism' are applied in this work. The first regards the 'feeding relations' that empower the street vending organisation, namely, with political and economic systems. The second regards the 'subordination' of the use-values of space and the community organisation as a necessary condition to control and expand the market's businesses. This, I argue, provides space with a capitalistic form through a process of exploitation.

The Global City theory

This theory argues that the logic of re-organisation of the Global economy constitutes a pattern of transformation of specific territories. A particular attribute of this re-organisation is that economic activity in one part of the world can have an impact on economic, social and spatial processes in a different part of the world. From this perspective, globalisation can be defined as an economic reorganisation nested in multiple scales and impacting a diverse range of cities, societies and cultures.

‘Globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’ (Giddens 1990: p. 64).

This process is characterised by an increase in capital mobility at national and transnational levels and by the number of financial markets that become a part of global networks (Sassen 1990). This development also concerns the geographic re-localisation of manufacturing and managerial functions of transnational firms from all over the world that are in search of profit making opportunities. In fact, globalisation can be seen as a stage for the adaptation of capitalism.

The Global City theory highlights the role of cities in the context of economic reorganization. The central argument is that a hierarchical network of cities is emerging to organise the operations of transnational firms and the flux of capitals. The Global City theory was suggested by Stephen Hymer in 1972¹⁶ and developed further in the 1980’s and 1990’s by different authors such as Friedmann 1986; Sassen 1991, 2002; Knox and Taylor 1995; Lo and Yeung 1998 (in Sassen 2002: p. 145).

‘Cities are the sites for concrete operations of the global economy’ (Sassen 2000: p. 196).

In fact, specific territories such as Central Business Districts play a relevant role as strategic command points, i.e. ‘centralities’ that organise the world economy, especially the flux of international capital and decision making processes.

I suggest that street markets also integrate themselves into the global economy by operating as local and regional distribution points for commodities produced in different parts of the world. These markets constitute emerging ‘centralities’ that organise the transnational production-distribution functions between local and global scales.

The work proposed by Saskia Sassen is particularly interesting; she looks at the integration of cities into the Global economy as a double and complex process from a sociological and macro-economic perspective. She argues that transformation of

¹⁶ Hymer was a Canadian economist (1934-1974). He proposed, for the first time, to look at the relationships between the nation-states, multinational firms and their influence on forming an international division of labour. He suggested that the presence and logic of multinational firms reinforced existing geographic configurations in his article: Hymer S H (1972) “The multinational corporation and the law of uneven development”, in J N Bhagwati (ed) *Economics and World Order*, Macmillan, London (in Pitelis Christos, 2002).

territories is guided by two main forces. On one hand, by the logic of the flux of capitals, delocalisation of certain management functions of firms and the creation of zones that offer suitable services and settings for those firms, i.e. economic globalisation. On the other hand, it is guided by the adaptation to local cultures, societies and political processes of cities. In this perspective, integration into the Global economy is shaped simultaneously by global and local forces re-arranging specific territories (Sassen 1994, 2001). The concept of territory, as used by Saskia Sassen combines the idea of economic patterns (globalisation) interplaying with local, grounded dynamics. Her approach focuses more on a functional dimension and transformation processes rather than a symbolic one.

'A focus on cities almost inevitably brings with it recognition of the existence of multiple social groups, neighbourhoods, contestations, claims, and inequalities. [...] These issues are difficult to measure and determine with precision. But that doesn't mean that we can overlook them and simply focus on the economic core of advanced firms and the households of top-level professionals. We need to enter the various worlds of work and social contexts and establish their articulations, if any, with the global functions that are partly structures in these cities' (Sassen 2000: p. 4).

This idea is used in this thesis to argue that the integration of street markets into the global economy implies a reorganisation of the territory based on its commercial logic. This process is embedded in political, social and cultural processes that take place in specific territories. The resulting arrangement, and the landscape it produces, implies a double, local-global adaptation.

The 'integration' to the global economy is a concept developed by Saskia Sassen. The concept takes into account the global economic forces reshaping territories and the specific realities of places rearranging as a result of a process of adaptation. The concept is used in this thesis to suggest that by integrating global distribution networks, commodities produced, for example in Asia, multiply their commercial value by being sold in the streets in Mexico City. This has a direct impact on space; as the potential of the streets to generate profit increases; the tendency to appropriate and control space to develop street businesses will also increase.

Furthermore, the creation of commercial relations with networks operating in different places, some of them in different continents, contribute to re-shape the relationships that a territory 'contains'. For example, the street as a place to sell is not anymore connected

to the productive activities taking place in the house located in the nearby area. But, the street is now connected to the storage place where goods coming from Asia are distributed massively. Thus, the integration of markets to the global economy may explain the increase of the streets' commercial value (exchange-value), and the tendency to eliminate the use-values of space.

The informal economy in expanding capitalism

The debate about the informal economy¹⁷ becomes relevant to this work in order to support the following argument: this economy is highly efficient because it operates out of formal regulations. It is already a part of the functioning of cities in developing countries, and it keeps expanding due to the advantages it represents. For many people it is an opportunity to develop a business; for others it is an alternative source for fulfilling the demands of commodities and services.

The concept first referred to the economy taking place outside of the modern industrial sector and the state regulations. In fact, informality is frequently understood as a problem of regulation, a lack of 'formality'.

'The informal economy is thus not an individual condition but a process of income generation, characterized by one central feature: it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated' (Castells and Portes 1989: p. 13).

The concept of formal-informal is quite inoperative in the context of developing countries; large portions of city economies are based upon, or related to, this kind of economy. More important is to understand that 'deregulation' is a necessary condition to keep the efficiency of this kind of economy and to allow it to expand. However, lack of framing may leave the 'floodgate' open to exploitation, as in the case of public space. This especially becomes relevant in developing countries, where the role of governments in regulating public spaces is less important than customary codes, which are more fragile.

This is particularly relevant in the context of the expansion of the Global economy wherein 'unprotected' assets can be appropriated to expand businesses in the informal

¹⁷ The term 'informal sector' was first used by the British anthropologist Keith Hart in 1973 and evolved toward 'informal economy' with W. Arthur Lewis. Hernando De Soto in 1989 shed new light to the concept arguing that 'unregulation' is an essential feature of this economy.

economy. If I bring in Robert Biel's concept of adaptive capitalism, then I can argue that the global economy uses informal economy to take over social organisation and the spaces protected by it. On the other hand, the informal economy can also be considered a release-valve for the lower classes, as their opportunities to find jobs in the formal sector are reduced.

'In terms of the day-to-day work in the leading economic complex, a large share of the jobs involved is low paid and manual, and many are held by women and migrants. Although these types of workers and jobs are never represented as part of the global economy, they are in fact as much a part of globalization as international finance is. We see at work here a dynamic of valorisation that has sharply increased the distance between the devalorised and the valorised—indeed overvalorised—sectors of the economy. These joint presences have made cities a contested terrain' (Sassen 2000: p. 197).

Informality presents this double feature: it permits people to have a livelihood, but it also facilitates the integration of capitalism, and thus exploitation, into the system. The presence of the informal economy in developing countries is not negligible. It is actually one structural characteristic.

'In Mexico middle classes and elites represent one fourth of the total population. The masses are formed by industry or service workers from the formal sector, as well as by an army of free-lancers, street traders, domestic workers, construction workers, security guards, gatekeepers, drivers, bodyguards, small retailers, and people from indigenous origin that survive from begging. This universe of workers expands through the formal forms of employment offered by the State, the companies, and the global nodes; but also by creating their own 'lifestyles' as is evident by the proliferation of street trading, taxi services and, in general, by the high variety of services offered informally' (Duhau and Giglia 2008: p. 14; translation by LO).

The role of the informal sector in South countries can explain the difficulties governments have with repressing such economy. In fact, the amount of employment and economic dynamism it produces in the actual context of globalisation is not negligible¹⁸.

¹⁸ Globalisation in Latin America presents the following economic and social characteristics: (1) strong immigration from the countryside to the major cities; (2) rapid rate of urban expansion, (3) the restructuring of the economic functions of the city related to the rapid growth of the third sector due to the decrease of the productive activities, this process reduces the employment capacity of the formal sector; and (4) the reduced capacity of the state to satisfy social needs for all: housing, employment, services, etc. (De Mattos 2004).

However, I argue that if the real costs of this kind of economic model, particularly the exploitation of the urban setting and the social organisation of communities, are not highlighted, then exploitation can lead to the destruction of valuable features of societies in the long run.

The informal economy is creating complex city landscapes. On one hand, people are using actual features of the city to support their livelihoods as a human-survival strategy, while on the other they are promoting practises that facilitate the adaptation of capitalism into the community system. This perspective highlights the importance of protecting community assets, especially public spaces, until customary codes can bring about a proper use of regulation.

Informal world markets

The concept of 'informal world markets' is proposed in the 'other-markets research project' available at the site www.othermarkets.org¹⁹. The concept, still in progress, refers to street markets organised between bottom-up social organisations and top-down political powers. They are characterised by their organisational capacity as well as their national and transnational reach.

I propose to understand these markets as emerging centralities that organise the distribution of commodities at local, regional and transnational scale. These markets are part of the Global economy and the hypothesis is that they take part in the reorganisation of territories, especially at a local scale.

Figure 1 below shows a map in-progress of the distribution of some of the world's major informal street markets; this map was taken from the 'Other-markets project' available from the website mentioned before. Examples of these markets are La Salada in Buenos Aires, Argentina (100,000 visitors and 6,000 vendors); Rua da Alfandega in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (100,000 visitors); 7 km Market in Odessa, Ukraine (150,000 visitors and 16,000 vendors)²⁰. The North Sector in Mexico City, which is the case study for this

¹⁹ This project is lead by Vienna University of Technology in collaboration with the Austrian Science Fund, Goldsmiths University of London, Centre of Urban Ecology of the University of California San Diego, Shanghai Study Centre and the University of Hong Kong.

²⁰ The data about visitors and traders in the regional markets was obtained from the web site www.othermarkets.org (2013) new results of actual research are expected in 2014.

research and corresponds to the same category of informal world markets (100,000 visitors and 9,000 vendors).



Figure 1 World informal street markets

The scale of these markets is clearly different from that of markets serving local needs. In this thesis I investigate some metropolitan and transnational connections to the stalls in the North Sector street market. However, the use of a single case study is not an appropriate methodology to explore the organisation of this emerging network of street markets at a Global scale.

To summarise, globalisation as a capitalist system might be establishing 'feeding relations' with the local street vending system, which, in turn, empower it to the point that it becomes a dominant pattern of organisation of space within a territory. In fact, the

street market integration to the Global economy may give more insights into how a specific territory located in one part of the world can establish connections with other functions of the commercial system situated in a completely different location. The less favourable aspect of this phenomenon is that capitalism is taking over human survival strategies to achieve its accumulation aims. In terms of space, this means that street vending has 'allied' itself with capitalistic networks, and thus contributes to the changing form of the city towards a production.

2.2.2 Resilience and transformation

Resilience is a useful concept to understand the capacities of an adaptable system, one that changes over time. This concept comes from studies on socio-ecological sustainability. It is related to the capacity of a system to survive by keeping its essential functions intact after confrontation with a major shock. The model comes from the Latin word *resilire*, literally meaning *rebound*.

'Resilience is the ability to reorganise after a crisis, continue to learn, evolve with the same identity and function, and also innovate and sow the seeds for transformation' (Ostrom in Folke and Boyd 2012: p. xviii).

Sustainable approaches have shown a special interest in the concept of 'resilience' to understand the attributes that help systems to adapt and eventually change in order to persist over time.

'Resilience is the capacity to lead a continued existence by incorporating change (Holling, 1986), stresses the importance of assuming change and explaining stability, instead of assuming stability and explaining change' (Van der Leeuw 2000 in Folke et al. 2003).

Resilience is applied to this research at several levels. Firstly, at the level of individuals and groups (vendors or local community members); and secondly, at the level of a territory concerning both socio-spatial organisations and management structures. A territory as a social and spatial system can be considered a resilient 'body' formed by different groups, developing different capacities and using the neighbourhood for different purposes.

Edith Grotberg defines community resilience as the collective capacity to minimize or overcome the damaging effects of adversity. She has noticed that resilient communities share a common attribute: the development of a strong 'sense of belonging' and the development of an identity that tightly binds the group together (Grotberg, 2002; in Tisseron 2007). Hence, community resilience is enhanced by social cohesion, as people can easily organise and work together for common aims.

'Resilient communities are those that have strong relationships within and outside family groups and are energetic in developing a community climate that is compassionate, empathetic, respectful, and communicative' (Cohen Silver 2005, in Tisseron 2007; translation by LO).

The communities that develop collaborative relationships over time represent a kind of extended family for its members. In developing countries, communities play a vital role in giving support to individuals during difficult situations, such as illness, unemployment, financial need, etc., especially because the state cannot provide social aid for all, and the urban poor are a vulnerable category. Families and communities are indeed an important resource for the well-being of their members.

A bounded community does not imply that conflict does not exist, on the contrary tensions may exist, but members know they depend on each other for survival and know how to organise and 'work collectively'. Solidarity is at the core of a system of values, people can kill each other for a conflict but in case of need they will easily help another community member without hesitation. Individuals depend on the community. This capacity is an important source for the resilience of a community. Below is given an example based on an extract from the autobiography of Mario Manrique, an artist from the Tepito neighbourhood in Mexico City. He describes the solidarity between neighbours as a core value of the community.

'I was feeling bad. I had a terrible stomach ache because I hadn't eaten for twenty days; I was even unable to stand up. I thought I would die. [...] As one neighbour prepared some tea for me, others organised among themselves to assist me; some of them were collecting money to help me...' (Manrique 1995: p. 175; translation by LO).

A remarkable example of the capacity of people to act collectively is the events that occurred during the aftermath of the 1985 earthquake that devastated Mexico City's Historic Centre. The consequences of the disaster, in all probability, would have been

more significant without the massive mobilisation of the citizenry (Quarantelli 1993). This example, similar to the cases of the tsunami that hit the Philippines in 2004 and that of Haiti in 2010, shows the capacity of the community to organise and the relevance this has in dealing with large-scale disasters.

'The Mexico City earthquake of 1985 was without a doubt a major disaster. The organized emergency response was massive, complex and decentralized; although limited overall coordination only slowly developed, the decentralized groups functioned relatively effectively. Millions of volunteers launched a mass assault on the problems of immediate search, rescue, casualty care and providing aid to victims' (Quarantelli 1993: p. 24).

The capacity of a community to work collectively is based on a set of values and social cohesion, this capacity can be used in case of a disaster or the need of individual support. The capacity to work collectively, react to unexpected situations and adapt reflects the resilience developed by certain communities. I use this idea to suggest that communities of street vendors can use the capacity to work together and get organised to consolidate and expand the market. I explore in this thesis how street vendors become a powerful and resilient community by using social cohesion, an attribute of the local community transferred to street vending, to start working collectively and create initial organisations. The members of a local community might develop abilities to organise festivities for local saints, develop leadership and a set of values important for collective survival. Thus, social cohesion is an important source of resilience as suggested by Grotberg (Grotberg 2002). Street vendors might use this community set of values, and practices to make the market grow and form resilient communities able to keep the market functioning over long periods of time despite the menaces of eviction and lack of official recognition.

Diane Davis points out that the resilience of a group is not an all-positive attribute for a city. In the case of the earthquake in Mexico City, some of the immediate problems were solved by the community. However, distribution of help was unequal and inefficient. Some organised groups took advantage of the situation and were able to concentrate and gouge resources. For example, organised communities got houses reconstructed even if not severely affected or only if they were old structures, while people that lost their homes and needed more help did not receive any assistance from the government. This clearly shows that at the city level, the resilience of a group may be critical to solve immediate problems but at the same time may promote inequalities among the general system over time (Diane Davis in Campanella et. al 2005).

I suggest that community resilience is an important attribute for city sustainability, but it might also be a force that leads to an unsustainable outworking, especially if embedded within a capitalistic framework. This research makes a clear distinction between the resilience of individual street traders, the resilience of the street vending as a commercial, socio-spatial system, and the resilience of a neighbourhood as a territory. Two kinds of resilience are particularly important for this work. On one hand, the resilience of the vendors and the street vending system is important to understand their capacity to produce space. On the other hand, the resilience of a group mobilising efficiently to increase their profits is related to the decrease of resilience of the neighbourhood as a general system, which loses abilities to keep its cohesion and 'unity'. This hypothesis is explored in the study case.

The study of resilience and its effect upon psychological behaviour has shown that the capacity used by resilient patients to get through or recover from trauma can evolve and help in developing new capacities (Antony, 1987; Segal, 1981; Garmezy, 1994, in Tisseron 2007). I apply this idea to work on the hypothesis that street vendors, after they confront evictions, develop new capacities such as political and managerial abilities. These new abilities can be reflected in their power to control and negotiate access to public space. Thus, I propose to recognise 'resilience' as a source of empowerment for the street vending system.

Another interesting idea derived from studies of individual cases is that resilience can develop from 'internal' as well as 'external' sources. In the case of an individual recovering from trauma, 'internal' sources may refer to self-esteem, positive attitude, courage etc.; while 'external' sources refer to family, social relations or positive environments (Tisseron, 2007). I apply this idea to street vending to suggest that resilience may develop from 'internal' attributes, such as the development of capacities of the community members. But it might be developed by 'external' interactions, such as empowerment from political systems.

To summarise, the concept of resilience is used to understand the capacity of the street vendors and the street vending commercial system to produce space. It is also used to look at how the resilience of the street vending system affects the resilience of the neighbourhood, which struggle to keep working as a community-based organisation. In the following parts I introduce three useful concepts related to resilience: development of capabilities, formation of co-management structures, and spatial reconfigurations.

Capabilities in relational systems

The concept of 'capabilities' in relational systems was developed by Saskia Sassen in her work 'Territory, authority and rights' (Sassen 2006). She looks at the forces of transformation by identifying capabilities that emerge and evolve in specific territories, and how these capabilities relate and challenge the socio-economic trends. This perspective is relevant as it attempts to understand processes of empowerment and forces of transformation. In fact, capitalistic approaches to space explain emerging landscapes as the result of the exercise of power, as suggested by Lefebvre. Hence, these approaches have not yet unveiled the process of empowerment in the making. The relevance to the research is found in the explanation of how street vending has become a powerful entity capable of producing space.

Capability in a relational system refers to the relation between capabilities that emerge in specific contexts and the specific point that challenges the general system and changes it into something else.

'Capabilities are collective productions whose development entails time, making, competition and conflicts, and whose utilities are, in principle, multivalent because they are conditioned on the character of the relational systems within which they function. That is to say, a given capability can contribute to the formation of a very different relational system from the one it originates in' (Sassen 2006: p. 8).

Sassen uses this idea to argue that the capabilities of incipient capital firms were enhanced by the organisation of the nation-states, which protected their economic interests while allowing them to expand their markets. However, at a certain point, the organisation of the nation-states became a 'barrier' to the expansion of the capital firms at a global scale. As the capital firms increased their power, they began to challenge the relational system, the nation-state, which allowed their expansion. This example shows that certain arrangements were necessary to develop certain capabilities, but once the capabilities became robust, the initial system was then challenged. This might lead the territory towards a new arrangement or emerging 'order'.

‘Developing more complex analytics of change makes legible the multivalence of capabilities and thereby helps to explain some of the illegibility of major transformations in the making. It also signals that the capabilities needed to constitute complex structures are built over time, and that notions about major transformations entailing the destruction of prior order are deeply problematic’ (Sassen 2006: p. 8).

This concept is used to explore the development of capabilities of the street vendors and the role they play in the process of urban transformation. Their evolving capabilities regard the vendors’ capacity for collective action, political abilities, representative leadership, and entrepreneurial intuition. I argue that the development of capabilities play a relevant role in strengthening the market over time.

Streets’ co-management structures

A co-management strategy is formed by integrating the local community into local and national governments. This concept has been studied in the context of resilience in socio-ecological sustainability by C.S. Holling (1973), and developed further by other authors (Holling, 1996, 2002; Folke et al., 2003; Berkes et al., 2003; Walker et al., 2006). Their research points out that a decentralised management system is a more resilient one. In fact, national management structures often have difficulties in detecting and adapting to changing circumstances while local communities are in general more sensitive and comprehensive in regard to their local environment.

This approach highlights the role of local communities in acquiring and preserving knowledge about the environment and in perceiving any changes, and reacting or adapting accordingly. The role of the community is positively highlighted by this approach. The stewardship of the community on a resource is considered an important source of resilience for the system, and a key factor to ensure ecological sustainability (Folke et al. 2012: p. 5).

'In recent years, the interest in social networks, in resource management contexts, has increased (e.g. Lansing 1991, Schneider et al. 2003, Baker 2005, Crona and Bodin 2006, Ernstson et al. 2008, Bodin and Crona 2009, Ramirez-Sanchez and Pinkerton 2009). These arguments are further strengthened by numerous studies showing that the existence of informal social networks among and between various stakeholders and groups are very important in successful cases of bottom-up community based natural resource management (e.g. Gunderson 1999, Folke et al. 2003, Olsson 2003, Pretty 2003)' (in Folke and Boyd 2012: p. 16).

The concept of 'co-management structures' is used to explore the integration of street vending to the city planning system. The working hypothesis is that this integration works as a co-management structure, which represents an important source of resilience for the vending system. I support the idea that by granting street vendors access and control of the streets, their empowerment will be implicit. They obtain power to take important decisions about the uses of space and the people who can access to them, a controversial role. Some debates idealise community management. Hence, it cannot be assumed that a community will use the power it gets over a resource without prioritising its own interests, including economic ones. Street vendors have a strong economic interest, thus it is logical that they will use their abilities to change the environment to enhance the performance of the market.

The research done by Emilio Duhau and Angela Giglia 'The Rules of Disorder' is quite influential to this thesis, for that reason I give some details of their work (Duhau et al. 2008). They did a detailed analysis to understand Mexico City Metropolitan Area as a complex system organised by a set of codified patterns; they used an urban sociology approach. The main argument is that the MCMA is not 'a city', it is a set of multiple 'cities' which he also calls 'orders', or patterns, that co-exist on space. However, they show how these 'cities' have different access to and experience of the MCMA. For example, an upper class person lives, moves, access to and thinks of the city in different terms than a dweller in an informal settlement. Both are living in the same city but at the same time they are experiencing it in completely different ways.

They identified several habitats in the city such as informal settlements, gated communities, historic centres embedded in the city, the central city, etc., and analyse at the same time the urban structure and how local residents use the MCMA as a whole. Interviews are held with the local residents to understand where they go to work, which kind of transport they use, how they think of other neighbourhoods in relation to their own, where they do shopping, which kind of logics oriented their choices of living in that

place, etc.. The research main findings are that different social groups, living in different kind of urban settings, have access to the MCMA in different, unequal ways. The experience of the metropolis shapes a mindset which influences the spatial practices of different people. I met Emilio Duhau in 2007, while I was writing this thesis in 2012 I was informed he passed away. He contributed to the understanding of the functioning of the metropolis in the Global South, especially in Mexico.

Duhau and Giglia describe the capacity of street vendors to control and enforce their logic upon the spatial order (Duhau et al. 2008). They argue that vendor leaders play an important role in the organisation of the groups and management of the streets. Indeed, they ensure the governability of certain territories.

'Street vending in the metropolis [Mexico City] is too complex to describe it here, but it's worth highlighting some characteristics related to its notable capacity to control several public spaces by applying their own rules. This is not without conflict between the organisations that articulate the system and between other stakeholders, such as the local government, residents, and local shops. Spaces occupied by street traders are assigned and distributed by leaders, most of whom are women that compete violently between them to grant access to the sidewalks... It is important to highlight that the leaders play the role of guarantors of the order that underlie the apparent spatial disorder in this management model, assuring governability' (Duhau and Giglia 2008: p. 15; translation by LO).

Nevertheless, this integration process has two sides. One side regards the capacities, resilience and empowerment of the street vendors and street vending as a system; but the other concerns the hypothesis of the importance of the characteristics of the state and local governments.

'Disintegration of the state' is a useful concept to understand the logic of city governments. It was proposed by John Cross in his work 'Informal politics' (1998), using the case of the street vendors and their negotiations with the Mexico City government. Cross explains that governments are formed by different groups which compete with one another internally to advance their political careers. During periods of election, the government acts on behalf of the personal interest of political figures rather than on behalf of the general interest that they pledged to represent. This 'disintegration' creates space for organised groups to negotiate favours in exchange for political support, which

is called 'clientelism'²¹. This is the case of the Mexico City government, and it is important to consider the progressive empowerment of street vending, especially that of the leaders, as has been pointed out in the work of John Cross (1988).

'In fact, the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] was not a totalitarian institution; it included a diversity of schools of thought and people that competed for better positions, promoting the formation of the famous *camarillas* with its men and clients. Competition among *camarillas* and the necessity to have supporters that legitimate the imposed candidates and officials opened the possibility for negotiation with groups like street traders' (Cross 2005).

The city authorities' need of political capital can explain the exchange relation that is established between the street vendors and the city government. Nevertheless, when related to the concept of resilience and development of capabilities, the relationship between the vendors and the authorities evolves. In fact, the abilities of vendors change. As vendors have more abilities to negotiate and more power to mobilise a considerable amount of people, they can obtain better advantages for the benefit of the commercial system. The formation of co-management structures is explored in the study case from this point of view.

The concept of 'urban corporatism' was suggested by Duhau and Giglia (2008); this concept refers to the way in which political systems maintain control of social groups, especially those belonging to the popular classes²² (i.e. street vendors). From this perspective, the organisation of corporations is a strategy of civil groups to gain access to resources²³.

²¹ Some of the authors that have explained the clientelistic logic of the Mexican State, the management of power, and the principles of allocation of resources are: Escalante, 1993; Lomnitz, 2000; de la Peña, 2000; Tejera, 2003 (in Duhau and Giglia 2008). The major characteristic of the clientelistic system is the use of collective resources for particular interests. For Robles (2007), the major characteristic of the Mexican corporatism is the voluntary or imposed subordination to a particular will of the State formed by different social and worker unions, which work as transmission belts between the state policies and the citizens (in Duhau and Giglia, 2008: p. 517).

²² After the Mexican Revolution, the right-wing political party that remained in power for 72 years, the PRI, was head of the central government from 1928 to 2000. In the years after the Revolution workers were organised into corporations; this kind of union organisation remains influential in Mexican politics today.

²³ Magdalena Tosoni (1998) has proposed the idea that clientelistic practices operate as an alternative for certain groups who face the impossibility of accessing basic goods and services through mercantile and/or democratic processes (in Duhau and Giglia, 2008: p. 518).

‘It refers to a kind of management based on organised groups of interest, which deliver services and define the use of public spaces. This constitutes one of the notable manifestations of a kind of management based on arrangements, which denotes the use of discretion in the decisions taken by the city authorities, and how much these decisions are conditioned by the informal arrangements with organised groups’ (Duhau and Giglia 2008: p. 515; translation by LO).

Corporatism and co-optation of urban groups is a generalised practise, not exclusive to street trading. Ann Varley describes a similar process using the case of ‘regularisation’ of land tenure in Mexico City.

‘Regularization provides a vehicle for clientelistic practises delivering land titles and services in exchange for electoral support and social tranquillity. It demobilizes the political opposition presented by social movements and remobilizes social activism in pursuit of legal and infrastructural benefits along established channels leading to a renewal of government by the PRI’ (Varley 1998: p. 1).

Corruption is considered an important factor to explain street trading and its relation to the city officials (Eibenschutz 1999). This variable is present within the system but cannot self explain street vending as a social and spatial organisation. This work does not focus on this aspect, but it is important to notice that bribery can play a role in describing the relationship between vendor leadership and the city authorities to some extent.

‘The rent of the public thoroughfare for the settlement of fixed and semi fixed stalls from the street traders is a kind of a goldmine, from where multimillion amounts emanate. The leaders (most of whom are women working as urban *caciques*) exact a fee from the traders to grant them the right to use the space; this fee is proportional to the street’s potential to ensure a good clientele. Thereafter the vendor pays a monthly fee and, sometimes, the vendor is asked to pay an extra fee in order to give a gift to an official, to organise a party or to support a political candidate’ (Eibenschutz, 1999: p. 8; translation by LO).

The thesis presented by Silva Lodoño (2011)²⁴ shows that street vendors are powerful political players, highly capable of applying political pressure, mobilising and defending their interests and territory. This approach changes the depiction of street vendors as mere ‘clients’ of powerful and savvy political actors.

²⁴ Silvia Lodoño wrote a Ph.D. thesis on sociology at El Colegio de México, a renowned University in Mexico City. Lodoño analyses the mobilisations, strategies and negotiation practices of street traders during the evictions that were conducted in 1993 and 2007 in Mexico City’s downtown core area.

The concept of 'co-management structures' suggests that street vendors and the city authorities integrate and form joint structures to manage the streets. This, in fact, is a source of resilience and empowerment of the street vending system. I hypothesise that it is through this alliance that the street vendors ensure access and decision-making power over the streets, a precious resource for them. In this way, they make the first step in becoming 'space producers'.

The concepts mentioned are useful to enrich the concept of resilience in the context of street vending. The development of 'capabilities' can be considered an 'internal' source of resilience. The 'disintegration' of the government, is a concept that recognises the authorities' need of political support. This 'disintegration' can be seen as an opportunity for the vendors to negotiate and to establish exchange alliances with the city authorities. The formation of the 'unions' has been a mechanism of the Mexican government to deal with social groups, keep certain control and obtain political services from organised social groups. These concepts are helpful to understand the relation between authorities and vendors as a source of power and resilience for the street vending system.

2.2.3 Configurations of space

Research work about city resilience primarily focuses on communities and management, but rarely refers to the attributes of space. In this work, this aspect becomes important as 'space' and its changing attributes are a central resource for the street vending system. In fact, street trading flourishes in places where clients are in transit or in those places able to attract clients.

In this work, I propose to explore configurations of space in relation to territorial resilience. The hypothesis states that there are some arrangements of space that are more adaptable and flexible than others, more complex and robust. From a spatial perspective, I explore the street market as a multi-scale, socio-spatial organisation, able to become a commercial logic of spatial organisation.

The form of space results from the different arrangement of elements, such as street layout, open spaces, plots and buildings; and also from the social and economic organisations that are embedded in a specific territory. These organisations mould the 'form' of a place, but they are also influenced by the characteristics of space. This is especially valid in the case of street vending wherein the proximity of the activity and the

public space are so close to one another. Vendors depend on the commercial potential of space to carry out their activities, but they can also create or enhance it.

To further clarify this point, I present the following anecdote. During a field trip to the market area, a key informant and local area vendor told me that the street where we were at the time is one of the most important commercial corridors in the area. Referring to a parallel street only a few meters away, he expressed his bewilderment as to why such street, even though wider, didn't work for street vending. In my head it was quite clear that the corridor was formed because it connects important places with a metro station in the area. The location of the corridor can explain the movement of people in a wider scale and, thus, the potential of this street to develop commercial activities. This street is not the same as other secondary streets due to its particular situation and relation to the context which defines its role in the configuration of the space as a whole.

Another analogous example is the local inhabitants belief that Tepito is blessed by God, as anything put up for sale, even the most basic goods, will be sold. Over the years, street vendors have acquired intuition regarding where and how to sell, but they cannot explain the commercial potential of the area. This, however, can be explained by understanding how the market works as a 'spatial configuration' and the location of the market in relation to the metropolitan area.

A spatial configuration can be understood as a 'syntax'²⁵ in which different elements play a role to form a whole. In order to 'read' the syntax of space it is necessary to understand the role each of the elements play in a general organisation. I use Kevin Lynch's approach to analyse the role that elements play in the spatial configuration of Tepito²⁶ (Lynch 1960).

Configurations of cannot be dissociated from the 'social order' they emerge. For example, the Spanish cities built after the conquests in America were organised around the 'city centre'. This centre is formed by the most important church, the city's administrative building and a strip of shops surrounding the *plaza*. The city centre is the place where the religious, social and political power concentrates. The city reflects the organisation of society through the disposition of elements in space.

²⁵ The metaphor of space as a language is used by Henri Lefebvre (1974).

²⁶ For K. Lynch **paths** refer to the streets, sidewalks, trails, and other pathways on which people travel; **edges** are perceived boundaries such as walls, buildings, and shorelines; **districts** are relatively large sections of the city distinguished by some identity or character; **nodes** are focal points, intersections or loci; **landmarks** are readily identifiable objects which serve as external reference points.

Two configurations of space are clearly identified in this thesis, the neighbourhood as a marketplace and as a social, non-commercial organisation. These configurations co-exist and interact within the same territory. These configurations may change over time; rearrangements among the elements of the general system may shift due to the economic and social processes that transform a territory. For example, a new 'centrality' can arise; some elements can take precedence or play a different role in the emerging configuration. A similar idea was developed by H. Lefebvre (1974) about space as a complex 'body', working as a human body.

'The spatial ensemble produces symmetries, interactions, and reciprocities of actions, axes and plans, centres and peripheries, concrete oppositions, formed in space and time. Its materiality is not attributed to the plots over a spatial layout, it rather comes from space: from the energy that is unfolded and used' (Lefebvre 1974: p. 226, translation by LO).

As suggested by Lefebvre, in order to understand a territory as a 'body', it is necessary to understand the interplay of configurations of space and social orders and the 'energy' that it generates. This 'energy' regards the fluxes and relations of people, resources, capital, exchanges and potentialities that are generated in, and within, a place.

It is interesting to relate Lefebvre's idea to Robert Biel's 'exchanges of energy', discussed in the first part. This would mean that the 'energy' acquired by the community, through its spatial configuration and social form, is extracted by the economic, capitalistic system and then transformed into profit. Once the community is depleted, the street market will probably not be able to exist due to the fact that its growth is based on this extraction.

Attractors in emerging configurations

I include now in the discussion the concept of 'attractors', which is developed from the research on complex systems. In fact, by observing complex systems, especially thermodynamics from which Systems theory borrows some concepts, it was found that organisations tend towards an order. This re-arrangement follows some patterns that become progressively dominant. These dominant patterns are called 'attractors', as they become 'centres' of an emerging organisation.

I relate the concept of 'attractors' with that of a 'centre' in spatial configuration. As mentioned in the example of Spanish cities, the political and religious centre materialised in the main square of a city as an 'attractor' of a 'social order'. I use this concept to

explore streets as emerging attractors of the organisation of the territory. The main square and other centralities of the community organisation remain, but new organising patterns and logics arise, with new centralities.

‘Attractors’ is a concept used to understand overlapping spatial orders. This approach is relevant because it allows me to argue that even if the neighbourhood maintain its built structure, together with some of its previous organisation, it can start working as a different ‘thing’ from that which was initially conceived. It is like a monastery that was created for religious purposes; but if at some point it started losing features of religious organisation, it was replaced by a productive industry; thence, we can no longer describe it as a monastery, but as an industry, a factory. In the case of a building, it is easy to visualise, but cities are complex objects and this process may not appear obvious. The concept is used to argue that a territory, if organised differently, can become a different ‘object’ altogether.

The emergence of new ‘attractors’ may reveal a restructuring of the spatial and social order of a place. I look at this reorganisation in the case study to explore the hypothesis that street vending may radically challenge the functioning of a place, giving it a new form and identity.

The configuration of space is proposed in this research as a source of resilience for the street vending system, especially when the market establishes connections with other locations and multi-scale networks start to emerge; the organisation that space undergoes is explored in the case study. Conversely, spatial reconfiguration is a concept used to explore the transformation of space and its effects on the organisation of the neighbourhood as a community use-value.

2.2.4 Social space

The concept of ‘social space’ is a contribution from a sociological and anthropological perspective on space, developed from the late XIX century²⁷. It refers to the social content of space. Social space is not a visual dimension of space, but it is a very tangible aspect of the functioning of space. It refers to the specific way in which social groups live, practise, mould and are moulded in return by space. The dialectic relation between social space and the configurations of space is a central aspect of this research.

²⁷ The social form of space was an idea first proposed by Emile Durkheim in 1895.

Social space is a useful instrument that helps to recognise spatial codification. For example, if we take two streets in different places, they may have the same dimensions and spatial structure, but their 'form' as social constructs might be completely different. In developing countries, streets are used, regulated and codified in a different way than those in the developed countries. Customary codes are still mixed with a modern functioning of public space, resulting in a complex 'construct'. In fact, many western visitors to cities in developing countries may think that streets are chaotic, but they are not; they have different patterns that govern the way they work.

To understand the codes of space in developing countries requires special attention. Lefebvre's metaphor of 'language' is quite useful to 'decipher' the functioning of space.

'The city was and still is an object; but not in the sense of a tangible instrumental object like a pencil or a piece of paper. Its objectivity or 'materiality' is probably closer to that of language, which individuals receive before they transform. An 'oeuvre' belonging to a society and spoken by some groups. We can compare this 'materiality' to that of a cultural object, such as a written book. I compare the city to a book, to a writing process (a semiotic system), without neglecting its mediating character. Space written as a book, reflects the mental and social structures of its authors' (Lefebvre 1960: p. 46, translation by LO).

In India for example, traffic rarely stops so that pedestrians can cross the street, but if a pedestrian starts walking into the traffic, the cars will slow down and let the person pass safely. If a person crosses in the same way across a street in Paris, the drivers will become angry and may even scold the person for violating the codes and creating risks for everyone else. This is to show that if we look at how streets work as socio-spatial constructs, then space reveals its specificity and cultural 'syntax'²⁸.

This concept, as used in this work, suggests that transformation of space is profound, not only when the built environment and social organisation changes, but even more radically when underlying codes are modified. If the streets in India started working as the streets in Paris, then this would be a sign that in-depth social and cultural

²⁸ An interesting work from an anthropological perspective on space has been performed by Edward Hall (The hidden dimension, 1966). He shows how cultures conceive space and the time linked to it in different ways. He uses the concepts 'polychrony' and 'monochrony' as opposite ideas to describe the fact that certain cultures use a certain space to carry out several functions by mixing uses and overlapping time in the same space; while others use clearly separated spaces to carry out one function at a time. These practices and conceptions of space are anchored to broader cultural and social orders.

transformations were taking place. These transformations are presumably less visible than changes to the built environment, which can be more visible.

Lefebvre developed the concept of 'social space' along with 'spatial architecture', which is similar to spatial configurations, in order to propose the concept of 'production of space' as a complex and profound socio-spatial transformation (Lefebvre 1974)²⁹. The capitalistic use of space induces change not only in the spatial order, but in the society and its culture, which is intimately connected to space. This means that the capitalistic use of space, not only changes it, but it also transforms society and culture; this is one major hypothesis in this thesis.

The concept of 'time' cannot be separated from 'space', especially in understanding social space. In fact, time and space are two interrelated constructs. In less abstract terms, time reflects the 'rituals' and the 'rhythms' that organise social interaction. In the squares of small villages in Mexico, for example, people come to sit and see other people for long periods of time as a common practise. The squares in Paris are different, in general people wait or carry out some specific activity in a designated place; if they sit to see other people, they do so on a terrace. The sense of movement and change impregnates these open spaces, opposite to the ambience of 'slow time' that the squares in the Mexican villages offer. These rhythms organise time, but also space and social interaction. It may seem that people who just sit and observe are wasting useful time, but in fact this opens the possibility to start a conversation with an unknown person, or to talk to frequent visitors about the issues of the community. It is also a way to 'keep an eye' on the streets, as described by Jane Jacobs (1961) and participate in establishing a self-organised order in the place.

To decipher social space, Lefebvre suggests looking at the social, physical and mental constructs that shape a specific spatial form. In fact, social space results from the dialectic configurations established among the practises, experiences and representations that a social group has of space (*vecu-perçu-conçu*).

²⁹ Lefebvre defines social space in the following terms: 'thus, the [social] space is not one thing among many things, a product among many products; it includes the produced things, it understands their relations within their co-existence: [relative] order and/or [relative] disorder. It results from an ensemble of operations, and can't be reduced to a simple object. However, it is not fiction, nor a non-reality comparable to a sign, a representation, an idea, a dream. Effect of past actions, it allows actions, suggests or prevents them' (Lefebvre 1974, p. 88; translation by LO).

Spatial practises refer to the way people use and relate to space following specific codes. For example, in some cultures people walk directly on the vehicles lane while in others this is strictly prohibited; in some people wait the traffic light while cross whenever they can. The way people use space respond to the codification of those spaces; to what it is 'normal' to do in that context.

'The spatial practises of a society mould its space; they define and imply it in a dialectic relation; they produce space by slow and certain domination and appropriation. For the purpose of analysis, the spatial practises of a society are unveiled by deciphering the spaces it occupy' (Lefebvre 1974: p. 48; translation by LO).

The 'representations of space' is a concept that refers to the way people think about space; to the mental dimension. They give meaning to the practises of space and help to understand the codes that underlie its functioning. Representations can help explain why people behave or use space as they do. For example in certain cultures, like in India and Mexico, people take out chairs and put them directly on the sidewalk to sit, to play games or as part of their street stalls. They do that without any formal permission. In this case, representations of space refer to the fact that people conceive the street as a negotiable, shared asset that can be appropriated individually, and spontaneously, for a period of time. In contrast to cultures in the so called developed countries, the use of space for individual purposes, in general requires the municipality's formal permission. In fact, in western cultures, the concept of 'public' is opposite to the concept of 'private'. Thus, it is prohibited to make private use of spaces if it is not clearly established by law. These representations reveal the meaning of 'a street' in different contexts and reveal the logic, or syntax, of the codes that regulate it.

'Conceptions of space tend to a system of verbal signs; therefore, elaborated intellectually' (Lefebvre 1974: p. 48; translation by LO).

The 'metropolitan experience' is an adaptation of 'social space' to Systems theory. This concept integrates the relations between practises, experiences and representations that different groups have of space, similar to Henri Lefebvre's idea of 'social space'.

Decoding social content of space

Duhau and Giglia look at emerging patterns of socio-spatial organisation in the Latin American metropolis by using the case of the Mexico City metropolitan area ('The rules of disorder' 2008), as explained before. They argue that even if the metropolis seems to have a 'chaotic' form, there are patterns that can be identified to explain its complex functioning.

'It is possible that the concept of 'order' or 'a public space' has become ineffective by the multifaceted reality of the actual metropolis. Here, we support the idea that there are different orders and different kinds of urban spaces. Understanding the (dis)order of the metropolis implies penetrating in the functioning of these diverse orders, which enables us to think of the metropolis as a complex reality stemming from the intermingled coexistence of different cities. In spite of the apparent 'chaos' of the metropolis, we don't think that it is a 'disorganised' reality, unintelligible and without any sense. The experience in the metropolis, in our vision, responds to certain logics and patterns that could be unveiled with the tools of social and spatial sciences' (Duhau et al. 2008, translation by LO).

They conceive the metropolis as a kind of patchwork composed of a multiplicity of 'cities', each of them with its own spatial and social 'order'. Each 'city' interacts and relates, not always in equal terms, to the other 'cities'. The main argument is that the metropolitan area contains a multiplicity of co-existing cities, representing a system of their own. To explore some categories of these 'cities'³⁰ and conceptualise the dominant patterns in the metropolitan area, Duhau et al. uses the concept of 'metropolitan experience' developed by Bourdin (2005).

³⁰ Duahu et al. (2008) identify categories of 'habitats' within the metropolitan area. Some of these categories are: slum areas, gated communities, housing estates, ancient villages embedded in the metropolitan area, etc. They look at how social life is organised in a different way in each of these areas to unveil its particular social code; and then, establish relations among the different areas to identify patterns of organisation at a larger, metropolitan scale.

‘With the term “metropolitan experience”, we refer to spatial practises (social dimension) and representations (mental dimension) that make it possible ‘to give meaning to’ and ‘to live in’ the metropolis by different people who live in different kinds of urban spaces. The concept of experience refers to the diversity of circumstances of everyday life in the metropolis and to the different possible relationships between people and urban places’ (Duhau et al. 2008: p. 21; translation by LO).

Duhau and Giglia’s work explain how different groups, living in particular ‘habitats’, have their own codes of space. They practise, give meaning to and represent their own spaces and the metropolis as a larger entity in particular ways. People living in slum areas will use local space, create social relations and move in the metropolis in a certain way; upper class people living, for example, in gated communities will have other ways of relating to their habitat and to the metropolis as a whole.

The relationship between people and the city is defined by the particular experience of certain groups. People struggling to obtain legitimate use of space, and finally obtaining it through stressful situations and their own effort, tend to forge the idea that space ‘belong to them’, even if it is the public domain (Duhau et al. 2008). This representation of space is frequent in the case of informal settlements, where the corresponding municipality doesn’t bring services and the neighbours find solutions to their needs by themselves. Public spaces are sometimes ambiguously defined as and considered areas owned by residents. The street vendors are susceptible of developing similar conceptions of space; they often believe that the market belongs to them because they have consolidated it through a long process of struggle and personal investment.

The example shows that experience, representations and practises give form to space as spatial and social constructs. These authors call this process ‘production’ of space, which refers simply to the ‘city making process’, but with a more neutral connotation. It should be noted that ‘production’ in this sense doesn’t have the same meaning as the one given by Lefebvre, which implies that transformation of space leads to a capitalistic output.

‘The metropolitan order is due to two main conditions, first to the forms of management of the city, and second to the forms of production of space. In relation to the latter, I emphasise the influence of the prominent form of city production that has ensued historically—and still does—as an irregular or illegal way, external to the formal normative. The fact that more than half of the metropolitan space has been produced informally is not a mere anecdotic detail, but a constitutive characteristic of the urban order characterising representations and practises of public spaces’ (Duhau et al. 2008: p. 21; translation by LO).

The management of a space set the principles, and to a certain extent the codes, that regulate space. In the case of street vending, the management of the streets may tend to favour commercial practises, which are in certain cases contradictory to the organisation of the neighbourhood. These management practises may alter the ‘public’ nature of streets and convert it into a ‘public-private’ construct. The relation between management practises and the social form of space is explored in this work.

The private-public form of streets

The idea of streets working as a ‘private and public’ construct was suggested by Duhau and Giglia (2008). This construct is in its nature contradictory because ‘private’ and ‘public’ are opposite forms of property rights. To explore this contradictory form of space, these authors look at how contradiction is managed through the concept of ‘ambivalence’.

The concept of ‘ambivalence’ comes from studies on psychological and sociological behaviour. Indeed, human nature is contradictory in and of itself. The desires, social codes and beliefs co-exist in individuals and societies notwithstanding tension (Calabró 1997). Thus, contradiction is not an anomaly in social life and all its expressions, including cities, but rather a ‘normal’ condition. Rita Calabró suggests that ambivalence is used as a resource to maintain a situation in which contradictions can co-exist, especially in a situation where they cannot be resolved by propagating one position over the other.

In the case of ‘private-public’ streets, the contradiction is maintained so that it can benefit specific private groups while simultaneously conserving some features of the public space. In fact, ‘non clarity’ especially in regulatory terms, opens space to the creation of local codes that can better deal with and adjust to the contradictory nature of the streets.

'The term ambivalence defines a particular situation. We can say that there is an ambivalent configuration when two instances act concurrently. They could be related to beliefs, motivations, needs, normative codes, values, emotions and models of knowledge. These instances that could be related to individuals, groups or classes are related in such a way that may result to be opposing, cannot be reduced one to the other, and cannot be eliminated because one guarantees the existence of the other. They create an area of tension in which the social actor moves. The ambivalence seems a strategy of alternation between two contradictory poles; a continuous redefinition of the point of equilibrium of a continuous oscillatory movement' (Calabró 1997: p. 45; translation by LO).

Duhau uses this idea to understand public spaces in Mexico City that benefit 'private' and 'public' interests at the same time. Street vending is a good example of streets becoming a 'private' asset, to a certain extent, and thus a double, contradictory construct. The 'ambivalence' that predominates in the streets' management practises is not a mere exception, but an essential attribute of the functioning of this kind of streets.

'The concept of ambivalence allows us to explore the metropolitan disorder with a new perspective. To envisage the possibility that the disorder is not due to the intervention of a strange and damaging element with respect to the studied reality that 'should be', but rather to a mechanism that is inscribed in the inner order of things and is part of the functioning of the metropolis. The circumstantial ambivalence of the codes of space shows the importance of the presence or absence of the authority to formulate the rules that must be respected (written or not). Following this argument, the authority should constitute itself an agent that, in different situations and matters, resolves or eliminates the ambivalence, in favour of one of the opposing poles; in other words, protecting the general interest over the individual interest. In the case of Mexico, it is significant that the authority sometimes decides in favour of particular interests. That is, the ambivalence is resolved against the principles that it should defend, while simultaneously manifests its own ambivalence as authority (Duhau et al. 2008; translation by LO).

As Duhau suggests, the ambivalent nature of the space is produced by the ambiguous authority that regulates it. It is interesting here to relate this idea to the formation of a co-management structure formed by the street vendors and the authorities, with their own contradictory interests of space. This kind of structure of the authority might explain its ambiguous nature and practises, sometimes in favour of the private interests of the vendors, while maintaining the public aspects reduced to a minimum degree. I argued before that this kind of structure is a source of resilience and power for the street vending system, as it can decide on the use and nature of the streets. However, this

produces contradictions that reflect on the ambivalent management practises of the authority and the form of space as a double, private-public asset.

‘The result of this form of production of the metropolis, which proceeds by personal initiatives more than by the implementation of institutional plans and policies has strong repercussions in the current situation, in which the public spaces are seen simultaneously as ‘public’ and ‘private’. Space, depending on the interests or circumstances, could be considered either as available for individual objectives or for the collective interest. This has become a situation where a contradictory and ambivalent valorisation of the nature of public space, and the rights that the individuals and the institutions have over them prevail’ (Duhau et al. 2008: p. 506, translation by LO).

The ideas developed by Duhau and Giglia are used to explain the specific ‘form’ of the streets as a contradictory ‘private-public’ social construct. The ideas are applied to street vending to argue that the streets, initially places used by the community to reproduce its social cohesion, became progressively assets used to develop commercial activities benefiting individuals. The streets produced by the street vending commercial system tend to work more like a private property rather than as a collective asset. The ‘social form’ of the streets produced as a ‘business asset’ has strong implications for the functioning of the society and the relations it establishes through space.

Codes of space and space syntax

The idea that I propose in this part is that the emergence of space as a double, contradictory construct implies an alteration of the codes, and of the mechanisms, that regulate that kind of space. The codes of space refer to formal rules or customary codes that regulate the use of space.

As mentioned before, Lefebvre’s conception of space is similar to language, and codes can be ‘read’ and ‘written’ as part of a more general syntax, or elements that together organise a structured meaning. I use this idea to understand the underlying codes of space and how they change during the process of transformation.

This approach highlights the specificity of spaces and the social and cultural context to which they belong. One day, when living in France, a friend asked me to go to the ‘*plaza*’ of the city where we lived. I searched for the *plaza* but I never found it. When I returned home, she explained that a ‘*plaza*’ in France refers to a crossroad where some shops can

be found. In my Latin American code, a '*plaza*' is a central square, which generally includes a garden, is surrounded by a Christian church and public buildings, and boasts a full sense of commerce. This example shows that spaces have a social and cultural connotation implying a specific use and reflecting the spatial organisation of a society.

'Everybody knows that when we talk about a "room" in a flat, a "corner" of a street, a market "square", a commercial or cultural "centre", a public "place", etc. these words of everyday discourse distinguish, without isolating, the spaces they refer to, and describe a social space. They correspond to a certain use of that space, hence to a spatial practise that they convey and compose. The codes of space, such as words, are concatenated according to a certain (social and spatial) order' (Lefebvre 1974; translation by LO).

To unveil the underlying codes of space in developing countries is not an easy task. While the formal codes are present to a certain extent, the customary codes may predominate³¹. In this context, streets and open spaces are complex objects that operate through a mix of formal and informal codes. An example of this is how commercial streets work in India. By law, vendors have the right to occupy the streets to protect their livelihoods (Government of India, MHUPA 2009), however, at street scale, the activity is largely regulated by customary codes enforced by local leaders who operate out of a formal regulation. A kind of double system formal-informal organises the streets. A similar situation can be observed in Mexico. In this case the activity is prohibited by law, but the organisation of street vending is organised through informal arrangements between the city authorities and the vendors leaders. In order to understand how the streets are organised and how they operate it is necessary to look at both the formal and informal codes that function as the street regulatory system.

Customary codes of space are traditional and collective knowledge regarding how to use spaces in the city and how to give meaning to these practises. The customary codes of space and the space syntax reflect a cultural way of 'living together'. These customary codes are formed over time and based on collective experiences. For example, by city design and formal codes, a cyclist in Paris has to use specific lanes and paths designated

³¹ The research of Kamau Mubuu shows that, in some contexts, customary codes have more prominence over formal regulation. He has noticed that property rights have remained unequal for women, despite legislation on their favour, by analysing inheritance customary codes in traditional communities in East Africa (Mubuu et al. 2001). This occurs because the system is regulated by patriarchal 'informal' codes applied in the everyday life. This evidences that some systems tend to be dominated by traditional or emerging practices rather than by formal rules.

for this kind of transport. At a larger scale, this reflects that the city has an order; space can be understood as a syntax. For example in India, there is no formal designation of space for bicycles, but spaces are negotiated and respected directly in practise. This is not a formal rule but a cultural code, a kind of know-how that people living in the city share, making it possible for people riding bicycles, for example, to know which are the spaces they can occupy and how they are expected to behave. While at first sight, especially coming from the Global North where space is mainly regulated by formal codes, space might appear chaotic. But, I argue that space is organised by informal codes and different systems of regulation and enforcement.

Customary codes can adapt easily than formal rules which are established by institutions and documents, but they are also more fragile. This is particularly important in the case of street vending, because it is a practise of space that in many cultures belongs to a customary code. The space recoding process is at the centre of the interest of this research, especially the alternations to the codes regarding regulation of property rights and access to the street.

In their research Duhau and Giglia propose the idea of '*sui generis* codes' to understand the Mexico City metropolis as a patchwork of cities, not only as different habitats and organisations but also as different codifications. They mention that some portions of the metropolis work as microcosms, places with their own rules and syntaxes; which sometimes overlap formal rules, at times creating a bizarre mix. This is particularly true in the neighbourhood chosen as the case study, which has its own distinctive culture.

'At first sight, something that seems to be negligence and a sign of disorder can be explained on the basis of logic, but a different from the one that could be actually expected of a modern city. This logic is based on *sui generis* codes, generated locally. The complex organisation of the Mexico City results from these alternative codes and their precarious coexistence with the current formal ones' (Duhau et al. 2008: p. 15; translation by LO).

Another interesting point that has been identified by Duhau and Giglia is the fact that some organisations 'acquire rights' by practise. By doing so, they re-codify the uses and practises of the street. In the case of the street vendors, 'time' is a fundamental variable that legitimises the vendors' rights to use the streets. The longer a vendor has occupied the same space in the street, the more legitimate it seems that he or she has rights to that specific place. This is an observation that is developed further in the case.

[The delivery of semi-formal services] is not the result of a general planning process carried out by the authorities, but apparently the acknowledgment, to name it somehow, of the “acquired rights” of different organisations. The claim to these “acquired rights” can take a violent form, when a group that takes them for granted, considers that it has been affected by the decisions of a competent authority’ (Duhau and Giglia, 2008: p. 522; translation by LO).

The process by which certain organisations acquire rights and capabilities to re-codify space is explored through the case study. The process of recodification of space is part of the ‘production of space’ as a complex and profound transformation of space.

The hypothesis is that not only does street vending appropriate the spaces of the community, but it also changes the ‘collective’ nature of the streets into a nature of ‘private’ use. This is done in benefit of the commercial efficiency of the market, but it has profound implications for the community. The recoding of space may promote, and reflect, community disintegration and increased vulnerability as explored in the study case.

The debates and concepts presented in this part were used to explore the different forces that may explain the transformation of space, the emergence of street vending into a dominant and efficient commercial system, and the relationship between street vending and the increasing vulnerability of the territory. The formulation of the hypothesis, presented in the next part, is grounded in these debates, as well as in the empirical data obtained from the field work.

2.3 Definition of the hypotheses

The thesis explores three main hypotheses that explain the process of ‘production of space’ by the street vending commercial system. The first is related to the political empowerment of the street vendors unions and the control they exert on the streets. The second is related to the multi-scalar organisation of space by the commercial system, which explain the central role that streets play, and the value they have, for business purposes. The third is related to the depletion of the neighbourhood due to the transformation of the uses and value of space into a profitable commercial asset.

The three aspects explored are related to each other and are part of the same process: the production of space. To be able to produce (commercial) space (hypothesis 2), it is

necessary first that street traders become a powerful group able to ensure control of the streets (hypothesis 1). In the same way, the depletion of the neighbourhood (hypothesis 3), is a consequence of the political empowerment of a group (hypothesis 1) and the re-organisation of the neighbourhood for commercial purposes (hypothesis 2).

The conflict between the use-values and exchange-value is only applied to space in this thesis. Use-values can be seen as a larger category, however Lefebvre approach is applied to 'space' as an 'asset', not to other values related to the city.

The concept of resilience is used to understand the evolving capacities that are playing a role in the transformation of space. I am interested in looking at the interplay of resiliences driving the transformation of space as a product. In this thesis, resilience is applied to the following interacting systems. Firstly, resilience is related to the capacity of individual vendors and groups to keep their vending activities, resist eviction, organise forming unions and negotiate with the authorities. Secondly, I look at the streets co-management structures formed by vendors and authorities as a flexible structure able to exert control over space, adding resilience to the commercial system. Thirdly, resilience is considered a property of spatial configurations to change the uses from a residential to a commercial one. The physical properties of space are essential to produce commercial space; a multi-scalar structure, for example, is highly resilient due to the diversity of commercial connections that supports. Fourthly, resilience is applied at the level of the neighbourhood to look at how the commercial system has excluded other uses and users of space to the point of specialising the area into a commercial system.

A diagram is presented in Figure 2 to provide a schematic overview of the process, as conceptualised by the thesis hypotheses. The diagram uses the form of a 'production line' to emphasise that although the process is decentralised and complex, the progression moves towards the instrumentalisation of space and depletion of the local community. The theoretical construction will be explained in the following paragraphs.

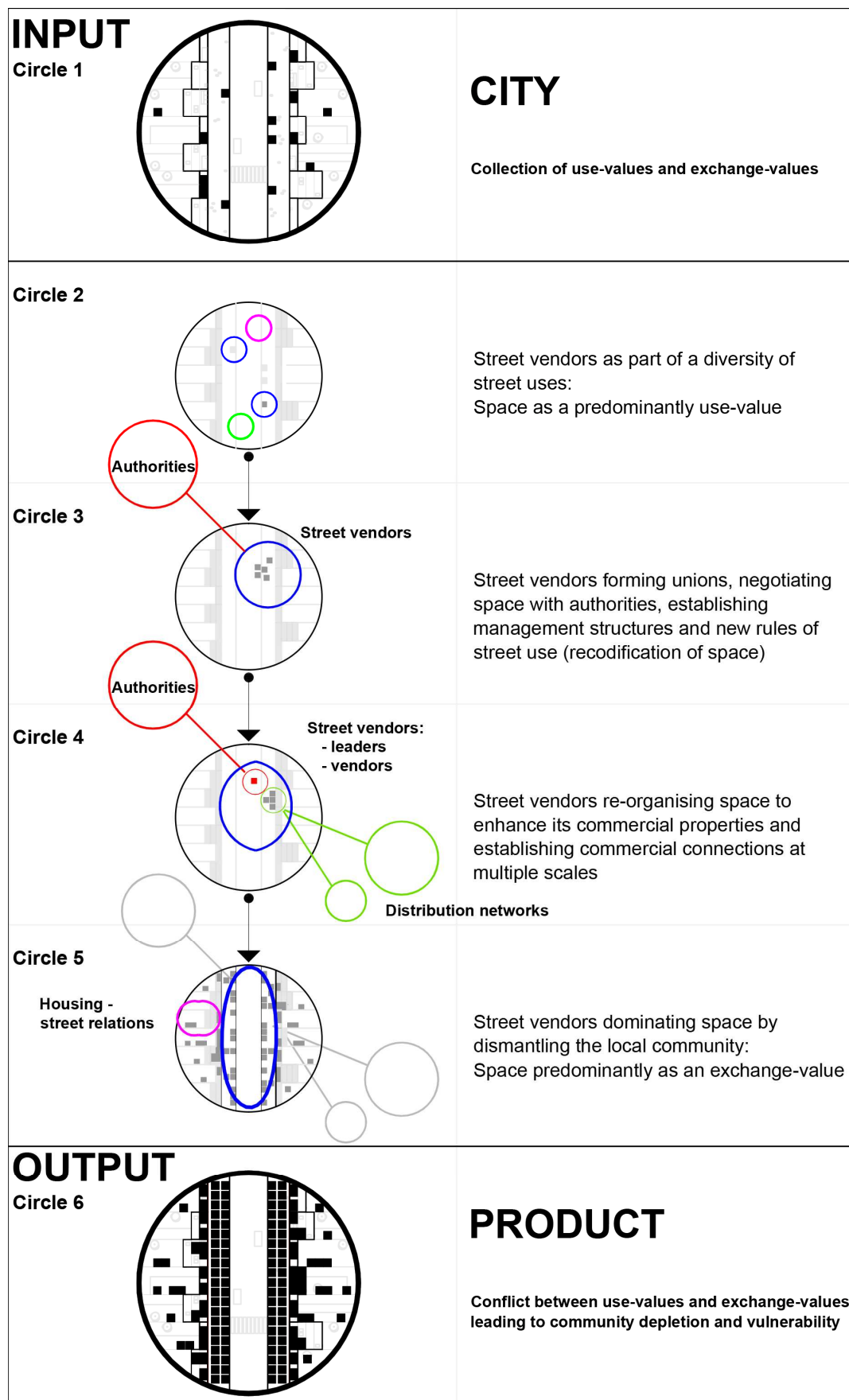


Figure 2 Street vending 'production' of space

The set of hypotheses rely on a coherent understanding of urban transformation derived from two theories: Lefebvre's production of space and Systems theory. I explain the approach to urban transformation before giving details on the hypotheses.

Production of space, as conceptualised by H. Lefebvre, is a capitalistic approach to urban transformation: space, originally a use-value, gradually becomes an exchange-value, an instrumental asset. Exercise of power is one of the factors that explains and drives the process of transformation, however it doesn't explain the empowerment process itself; the approach is mechanistic to a certain extent. The core problem of the production of space relies on the loss of the properties (and use-values) of space as a place that maintains and reproduces social cohesion, a problem of the city losing its 'citiciness'. A systems theory approach to urban transformation allows to look at the process 'in the making', and look at it as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The concept of resilience is applied to different aspects of the system to look at how people, spatial and social organisations adapt, resist and develop new abilities that challenge the general organisation. From this integrated approach, urban transformation is a capitalistic product. However, the 'production of space' is not seen as a mechanistic output, on the contrary, it is conceptualised as a decentralised, multi-scalar and multi-dimensional process.

The hypotheses derive mainly from the theory. Some limitations to the theory were identified, a set of concepts proposed in Part 2.2 Discussing Relevant Debates were proposed to cover some of the gaps in theory. In the following paragraphs, I give details of how each of the hypotheses explain the process of production of space and which debates and concepts were used to formulate a holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

The first hypothesis explains the process of production of space as a consequence of the political empowerment of the street vendors, and how they get control of the streets gradually. This hypothesis derives from Lefebvre's theory, he argues that the production of space is an expression of power. The street vendors are in many cases powerless groups, for this reason it is particularly important to understand the process of empowerment. Especially the role that the authorities and the vendors played in the process and how they structured a system of regulation and management of the commercial streets. This structure presumably preserves the streets as a dominantly commercial organisation.

Four concepts discussed in the previous part of the Chapter are useful to enrich the hypothesis. The concept of 'disintegration of the State' proposed by John Cross is helpful to understand how the government operates and how self-interested cliques are willing to get political support from the street vendors to advance their political careers. This creates an opportunity for the vendors to informally negotiate access to the streets. The relationship between the city authorities at different levels and the street vendors will be explored in detail through the study case.

The second concept is the development of 'capabilities in relational systems' developed by Saskia Sassen; capabilities are forces that evolve over time and at some point might represent a force of transformation of the systems to which they are related (Sassen 2006). Street vendors might develop abilities to negotiate with authorities, they also develop organisational capacities and street management skills. The development of these capabilities might change the relation they establish with the authorities and explain the vendors capacity to ensure access to the streets and gradually take control of them.

The third concept is resilience, this is a capacity to overcome a shock and maintain the essential functioning of a system. Resilience in the first hypothesis is applied at two levels, one is to street vendors as a social group and the second is to the street co-management structure. In the case of the street vendors, resilience can be observed by the groups' capacity to resist eviction by helping each other and forming initial organisations. In the case of the co-management structure resilience is observed by the capacity of the commercial system to keep access to the streets despite the political changes. In the literature on resilience by Folke et al. they show how an integrated management structure, formed by authorities and local groups, strengthen the resilience of the socio-ecological system as mentioned in Part 2.2.2 (Folke et al. 2003,). I use this idea to suggest that the integration of a street management structure, under systematic informal arrangements between the authorities and the vendors, increase the resilience of the commercial system to adapt and persist over time.

The fourth concept looks at the process of recodification of space. This process was already central in Lefebvre's theory. I use the concept as defined by Duhau et al. to suggest that the experiences of the vendors, the way they think about space and their practices produce a specific form of space (Duhau et al. 2008). Streets are 'public' from a legal perspective but vending places might be appropriated by the vendors as a 'private', exclusive object. I suggest that experience and time is central for the vendors to form the

idea that a specific space belongs to them as they have been using it for a long time for selling, this might legitimate the position of the vendors. The codes established by the practice of space over time have a direct effect on the production of space as a specific output, space as a business asset. To enforce these codes, the street management structures might play an important role as regulatory systems, ensuring control and access to space. For example, street vendors are protected by local leaders who have arrangements with the local authorities.

The first hypothesis is formulated as follows: The way the government operates creates opportunities for street vendors to negotiate their access to space in exchange of political support for local cliques. However, the process is not only driven by the city authorities, street vendors develop important capacities over time which can change the relationship with the government. Once empowered, the vendors might increase the control they exert over the areas negotiated with authorities. At long term, the arrangements between vendors and authorities might form a co-management structure that regulates the uses of the street for commercial purposes. This structure can enforce new codes of use to the streets, favouring the commercial uses and practices over the interest of other city users. The processes of empowerment, related to the street vendors ability to negotiate, manage, control, and change the codes of space, can explain the capacity of street vending to produce space.

While political power, related to the control and codification of space, is important in the production of space, it cannot give insights on the specific organisation of space as a (commercial) product, and the consequences of that process. This is a limitation of Lefebvre's theory, this thesis overcomes this limitation by looking at the spatial output and the consequences of the re-organisation of the neighbourhood, especially for excluded groups.

The spatial qualities of marketplaces are central to fulfil their function, not any place can become a market which works as a node for social and economic exchange. In the past, the marketplace was at the origin of cities emerging in the intersections of trading routes. The capacity of markets to 'connect' distant locations through production and distribution networks might produce complex configurations of space, which are favouring the transformation of space into an instrumental asset. This is relevant as the production of space, as an increasing efficient marketplace, requires a specific organisation that enhances the potential of the area as a commercial hub.

Four concepts, defined in Part 2.2, were used to construct the second hypothesis. The first is the 'configurations of space' which suggests that certain elements on space work together, each one playing a role as 'nodes', 'paths', 'edges', etc., forming a coherent ensemble. The idea that I develop is related to the functioning of the commercial system as an organisation of space. An example of this are the covered markets working as complementary structures and forming with the street vendors a robust commercial area.

The second concept is related to the resilience from a spatial perspective. A specific layout might be more adaptable for multiple functions than others. For example, large plots of housing estates have difficulties to get integrated to the cities, it is difficult to develop commercial areas and generate employment in this kind of layout. While areas that have small plots and a well connected street grid can evolve quicker and transform in a more efficient way accordingly to the population needs and demands. The adaptability of an urban layout might play an important role in allowing the area to transform its uses and form new configurations of space. In the case of street vending, it is relevant to look at spatial adaptability as the informal markets are emerging in areas that are not planned in advance. However, certain places might have resilient urban structures that permit the market to emerge and expand, becoming a commercial node at different scales: local, city, regional, transnational, etc..

The third concept is related to increase in the efficiency of the commercial system. This concept comes from the literature on sustainability in socio-ecological systems (Folke et al. 2003). From this approach, systems are in constant transformation, if a system increases the efficiency of some particular function it might increase the vulnerability of the general system. I am interested in vulnerability in relation to the social relations that space contains and its role to reinforce and maintain the cohesion of social groups. In the case of street vending, I use the concept to argue that the commercial system is producing space to become more efficient while rendering vulnerable the neighbourhood as a social, non commercial organisation. Space becomes a business on itself, an exchange-value.

The fourth concept comes from the Global City theory developed by Saskia Sassen (Sassen 1991). This theory suggests that space is changing as it is connecting distant localities through economic processes, while at local scale those same places are getting disconnected to a certain extent the territories where they are anchored. In the case of the informal world market, places are getting connected to different localities, at

different scales to carry out commercial transactions. It is particularly interesting to see how these multiple connections are changing the value, and role, of space; and how these changes are dismantling other functions of space. I am not arguing that the production of space is a consequence of globalisation, but certainly it intensifies the process.

The second hypothesis is formulated as follows: The production of space is a process that is tending to give a specific form to space, this form is space as a 'commercial product'. The logic that underlies the commercial organisation of space might give insights to understand the process of transformation of space. I consider important to know what specific kind of spatial-product the system is producing and how it is used precisely as an instrument for accumulation processes. I am interested in exploring the multi-scalar and multi-dimensional connections and the way they are modifying space as a value.

The third hypothesis explores the production of space as a process that depletes the neighbourhood. By looking at this depletion, the transformation of space is revealed as a destructive progression. The problem of depletion of space as a use-value is related to the incapacity of the neighbourhood to provide space to reproduce the social cohesion of a multiplicity of groups. This loss not only produce tensions within the groups that are excluded from space, but directly affects the capabilities of a neighbourhood to persist over time. The problem of production of space is a problem of creating vulnerability.

Three concepts discussed in Part 2.2 are used to build the hypothesis. The concept of 'configurations of space' is used to look at the functioning of the neighbourhood as a social, non commercial configuration. The public spaces, parks, different typologies of housing and the streets are used in a specific way by the local community and form a configuration of space. As the commercial system grows, it tends to affect the social organisation of the neighbourhood. I am interested in looking at how the appropriation (and recodification) of public and private spaces by the street market logic has affected the social cohesion of the community and the functioning of the neighbourhood as a social organisation.

The second concept is 'social space', this concept is used to analyse those spaces that have special significance for the community, this might be a square, a street or any element on space. The sense of community is reflected in these meaningful spaces. I analysed these meaningful spaces to unveil social cohesion through its relation to space and its depletion over time.

To describe social space Lefebvre uses two concepts 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representation'. The concept 'representations of space' refers to how people think of space and act accordingly to that particular mindset. For example, streets are conceptualised as an extension of the courtyards inside the collective houses, the gate to the patios is always open and the local community use both spaces to sit, talk, play among many other activities; the streets are conceptualised (and practiced) as community assets. The second concept, 'spaces of representation', refer to those places that have special significance for social groups. For example, a specific square, a main street, or other elements might be particularly significant for a group or community. I use these concepts to suggest that the production of space is not only a physical transformation of the neighbourhood but most importantly an alteration of the social relations formed within space.

The third and last concept is 'vulnerability' applied to socio-ecological systems (Folke et al. 2003). I suggest that a neighbourhood might become vulnerable as a consequence of the increase in the efficiency of its commercial functions. Vulnerability is created by reducing the spaces for social interaction such as parks, squares, streets, etc., and by the modification of the way the neighbourhood is practiced. The spatial relations modify the way the community practices space and reinforces its cohesion. I have a special interest in studying the relationships between the collective houses and the streets and how the practices of space and sense of community evolve over time.

Communities are formed by different social groups, with diverse profiles and bounded by different interests, sharing certain values and traits. These traits can be the development of a particular language, the emergence of a local culture related to a set of shared values, the development of a religion and festivities particular to that community. The sense of belonging to the neighbourhood is related to a particular way of practicing it.

The third hypothesis is formulated as follows: The vulnerability of the neighbourhood is part of the process of the production of space, a necessary condition to make of space an exchange-value. As discussed in Part 2.2.1, Robert Biel suggest that exploitation of certain assets requires control; in this thesis I applied the idea to space (Biel 2010). To get control of an asset, it is necessary to remove and destroy the role of groups and people who use, take care and protect those assets, not as a personal business, but for a shared use; the community as a 'gatekeepers' of space. The residents and their organisations control behaviours considered as abusive, for example asking the street vendors to let children play in the streets or make space for residents to park their cars. However over

time conflicts might be resolved in favour of groups becoming powerful, changing the rules of the game in their benefit, including violent confrontations.

From this perspective, vulnerability is not a side effect of the transformation of the neighbourhood. I am arguing that the process of production of space requires the dismantlement of the cohesion of local groups and sense of community to maximise the appropriation of space for business purposes. This appropriation includes selling or renting space to sell in the streets as part of the most profitable businesses in the area.

The connection between the increasing organisation of the neighbourhood as a commercial system and the vulnerability of the neighbourhood is relevant to define the problem of street trading in relation to urban transformation. The problem, from a spatial perspective, is firstly related to the tendency of space to become a commodity (an exchange-value) by dismantling and exploiting a community asset (use-values). Secondly, it is related to the neighbourhood becoming fragile and facing difficulties to persist over time. The production of space, I suggest, is a problem of sustainability.

The three hypotheses, to be explored in the study case, explain the production of space as a multi-scalar and multi-dimensional process. I look at political, spatial, economic and social aspects in relation to each other to explain the different forces that drive urban transformation into a production of space.

Chapter 3

Research methodology

The hypotheses proposed in this research were formulated from the theory, but also from the empirical experiences grounded in the fieldwork. They were reformulated several times, adjusted to the theory and to the case study. I stayed open to integrating variables that revealed themselves important during the field trips. The objective that guided the process was to understand street vending in its complexity and its relation to a territory. This chapter presents the methods used to recover data from the field and the way I use them to illustrate the theory. However, the process was not linear and decoding the field data was in itself a real challenge.

The Chapter is divided into three parts. The first part presents the case study and the three main research methods. The second develops a historical review of the case, highlighting the different dimensions that were involved in the process of 'production of space'. The third describes the specific analysis applied to the case study and explains how they contribute to the logic of the argument.

3.1 Case study and research methods

In order to explore the North Sector in the Tepito market as a case study, three main methods were used: a historical review, spatial analysis (Multi-scale Spatial Analysis) and social analysis of space (Social Space Decoding).

3.1.1 The case study

Mexico City³² is located in the centre of the country as shown in Figure 3. The 16 boroughs of the city, together with 40 districts of the State of Mexico and one of Hidalgo,

³² Mexico City is also called Federal District, as its administration depended directly on the central government until 1997.

form the major metropolitan area of North America with approximately 20 million inhabitants (INEGI 2004).

The North Sector, corresponding to the area occupied by the street market in the Tepito neighbourhood, is located in Mexico City's downtown area, in the north of the Cuauhtémoc Borough.

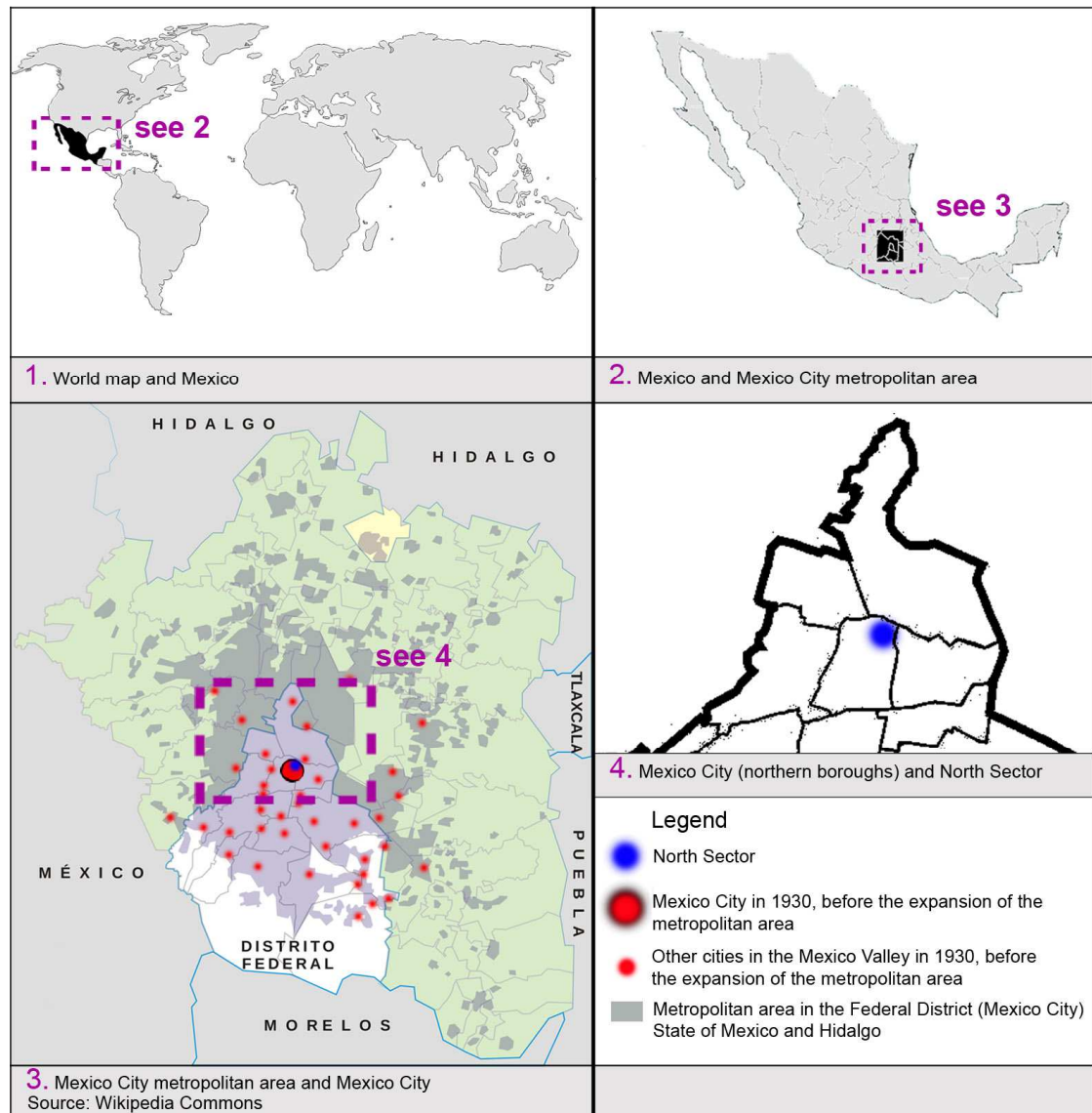


Figure 3 Location of the case study

Figure 4 shows the localisation of the North Sector in relation to the city centre. The area occupied by the historic monuments, and declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987, is denominated 'Perimeter A'. The monuments area is surrounded by a 'buffer zone' called 'Perimeter B' established to protect the urban fabric of the historic area. The Tepito neighbourhood is located to the north of the city centre starting beyond the limits

of the Perimeter A. Tepito is an ancient settlement with pre-Hispanic origins, it has been evolving over time as the city expanded, retaining certain features of the previous organisations.

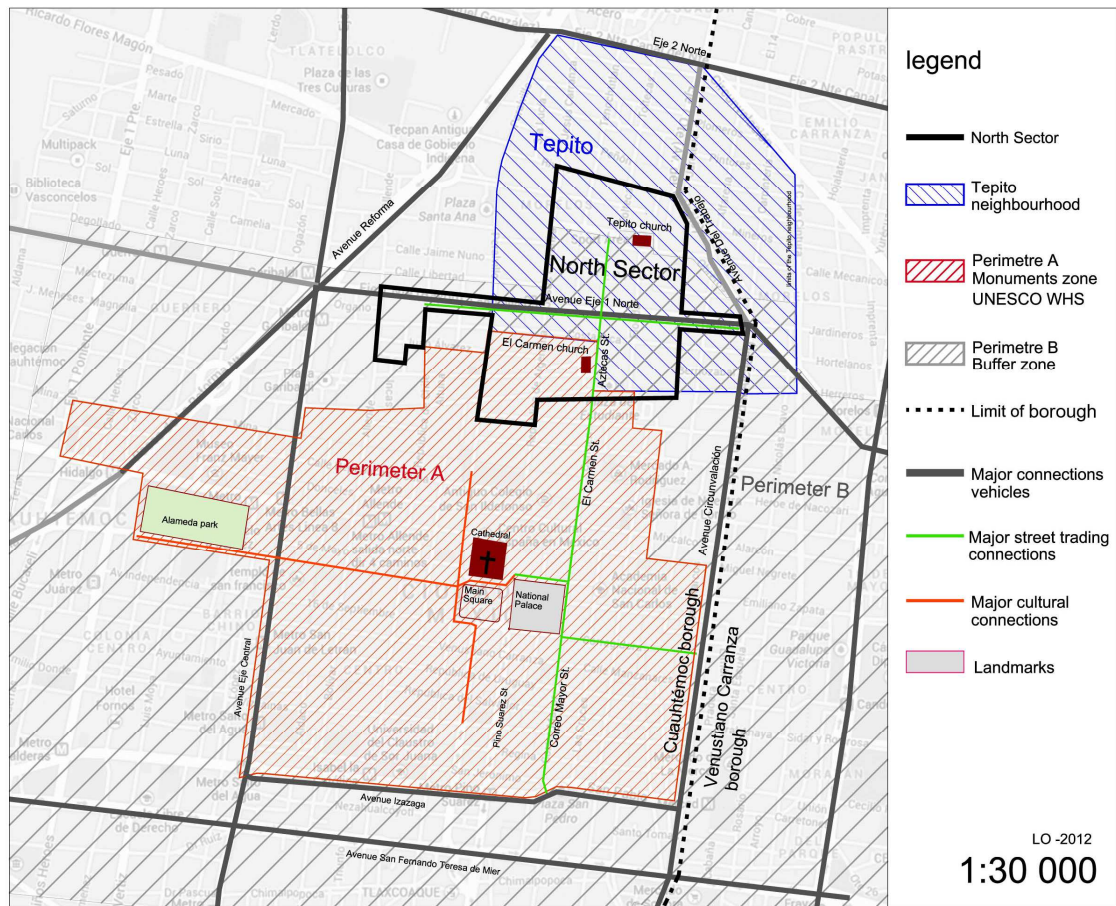


Figure 4 The North Sector in relation to the city centre

The North Sector area corresponds approximately to the area occupied by the street market³³. This area, as defined for the purpose of this research, is located between the 'Perimeter A' and the Tepito neighbourhood. In fact, the presence of the street market has been considered incompatible with the city centre core area since the 19th century, which is why City Authorities systematically pushed the street market area towards the outskirts of the city centre, which in turn explains its current location.

³³ The North Sector area was delimited for the purpose of this research. It includes the central elements of the community and commercial organisations, such as the main squares of the neighbourhoods, the closed markets and the major commercial corridors. This area is not a strict delimitation of the market, and its extents may vary, depending on factors such as periods of the year, weekends, or political negotiations, etc.

The North Sector covers an area of 60 ha, constituting of 30 blocks of residential- and commercial-use buildings. The area has approximately 44,000 inhabitants (CETEPIS 2012). Collective housing is still the dominant residential typology; some of these houses are traditional *vecindades*³⁴. However, most of the collective houses were reconstructed after the 1985 earthquake. More details are given in the historical review.

The local community, especially in the Tepito neighbourhood, is well known for its particular and rooted culture. The neighbourhood was an Aztec village before the Spanish colonisation. El Carmen, in the south of the North Sector, was settled by the Spanish in the early formation of the colony. The Tepito neighbourhood is a community that has kept certain levels of social cohesion and culture over time; its history is indeed quite particular. After being an 'indigenous town', *barrio de Indios* in Spanish, regulated by customary pre-Hispanic codes, it became a working class neighbourhood in the early 20th century and a slum area in the mid-20th century.

A powerful market emerged in the early 1970s. Both the community and the authorities played an important role in its making, not as a result of a 'clear purpose', but rather as a result of the ability of the local community to take advantage of the neighbourhood's location to develop commercial activities. In fact, the street market became a gold mine for many community members. Today, these neighbourhoods are characterised by their powerful street market, regulated by its own 'order'.

Figure 5 shows the urban fabric of the area from an aerial view. The commercial streets and the closed markets appear in yellow and red, respectively, while the rest of the elements of the city are shown in black and white.

The commercial area has approximately 12,000 informal street stalls, covering an area of 8,700 linear meters, and 1,200 shops. A total of 100,000 clients visit the area every day (Sanchez Valverde 2009). Approximately, 60 buses come to the market every day from distant regions of the national territory, travelling up to 12 hours to get there. The Tepito street market is a node of distribution for commodities at the metropolitan and national scale; a connexion hub for imports and exports at the global scale. The market mainly distributes Asian imports. But a wide variety of goods, some of them produced locally,

³⁴ The *vecindad* refers to a typology of collective housing in Mexico City. In some cases a *vecindad* is a colonial house subdivided in different units sharing a patio and some facilities like toilets and laundry washing areas. In Tepito, the *vecindades* were constituted by small rooms (25m²) with an internal mezzanine, called *tapanco* in Spanish, built around a patio and rented to the population coming from the rural areas around 1920 to 1940. This typology of housing was very convenient for migrants, as rooms were cheap and the location was central.

can also be found. There are also some food markets, which serve mainly residents and street traders. Most of the transactions are wholesale, but the market also retails to end clients, in a lesser percentage. The market presents a highly coherent form in commercial terms.

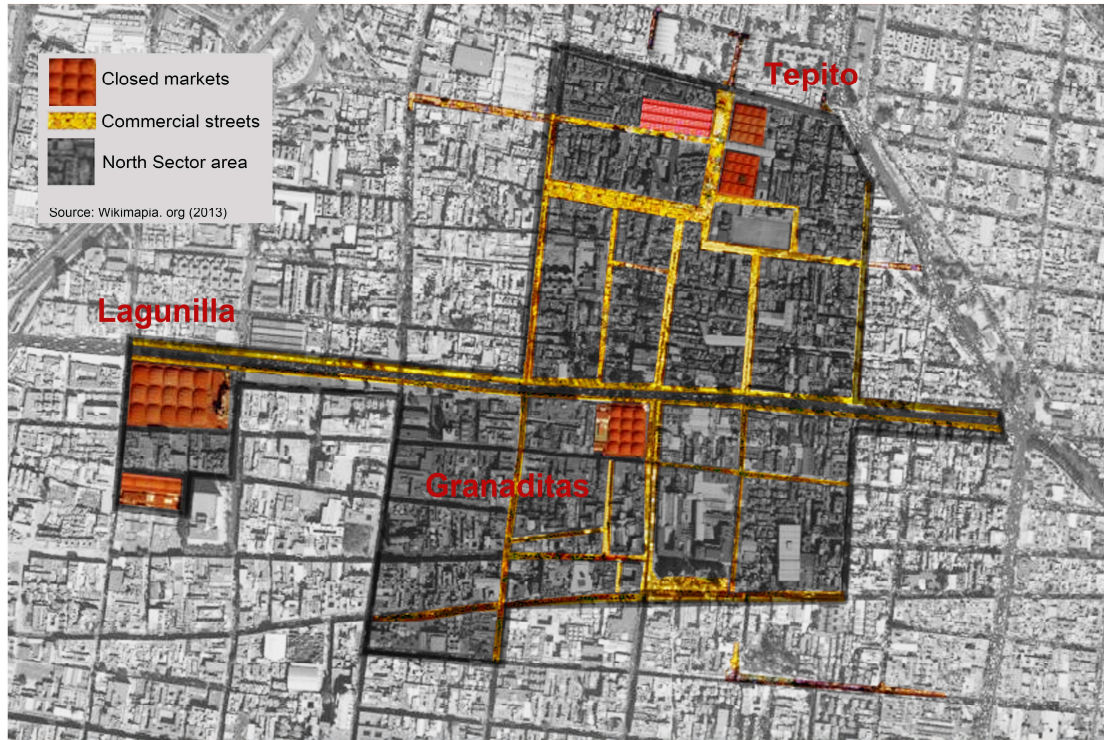


Figure 5 The North Sector

The advantage of this market is in the prices it offers, which are possible due to the privileged connections—some of which might be of a suspicious nature—that the market has with the different supply chains.

In the neighbourhoods there are still local shops such as grocery stores, bakeries, tortilla shops, ready-cooked food shops, etc. Yet, most of the establishments are specialised and serve clients from the local markets. Indeed, commercial streets are highly specialised in a business line: leather, shoes, toys, clothes, clocks, sun glasses, etc.

The case was chosen for two reasons. Today, the North Sector is a powerful street vending system that dominates the organisation of the neighbourhood with its commercial logic. It constitutes a clear example of production of space by street vending, relevant to explore the commercial system ability to transform space.

In addition, my personal relation to the place as a native of Mexico City allows me to grasp the codes of local culture more easily. My professional background as an architect

and urban planner were relevant to explore the territorial dimension of the phenomenon.

I was confronted to some difficulties during the field. One of them was obtaining reliable information. Street vendors and local residents were willing to talk but I understood the information was superficial. To obtain relevant information I asked friends and acquaintances to introduce me to local people. As I was introduced by friends, key informants were able to trust me and share sensitive details with me. This was essential to get reliable information about the functioning of the market.

Another difficulty I faced was that even if street vendors wanted to help me it was difficult for them to explain certain dynamics. Street vendors lack technical knowledge and do not necessarily have a general understanding of the functioning of the market which is complex. They can talk about their daily practices, or their strategies, in their own words, but they cannot explain why certain streets are commercially more attractive than others or which is the value that streets have for them. They know it intuitively but cannot talk about it with clarity. To deal with these communication problems I searched ways to formulate the questions in simple words so that we could understand each other. It was very useful to find qualified informants with whom I could cross-check information and get useful, comprehensible explanations of local dynamics.

A challenging situation was to deal with my personal security. Tepito is a very dangerous place, I never visited the area on my own and took all the precautions before doing it. The first time I visited the market I went with a friend who introduced me to a local vendor, who later became a key informant. With both of them we walked in the area while the vendor explained which kind of commercial structures can be found in the place and which role they played in the functioning of the market.

In the case of the Tepito core area, I went for the first time with a friend to the Martes de Arte Square, a plaza in which a cultural group organises dancing and cultural events. During my visit, I explained to some of the members of the group my research project and ask for their help. During this conversation a person was listening, at the end came to me and let me know he was interested in helping me with my research. He is a retired man, who grew up in Tepito and worked there as police officer. I was able to visit the neighbourhood several times with him and to interact with people, after some time locals were able to recognise me. I was secure while visiting the area with him. Tepito is like a village, everybody knows each other and when I was with the informants we used to chat

constantly with local people. By taking these precautions I never felt under threat in the area.

In order to provide a better idea of the atmosphere at street level, the following paragraphs describe the movements of a person walking from the city centre main square, the Zócalo, towards the North Sector, through the Correo Mayor-El Carmen-Aztecas corridor.

The tour begins at the Zócalo metro station, in front of the Cathedral, the National Palace and the ruins of the Templo Mayor. On the east side of the Cathedral, there is a smaller square called Seminario where people with indigenous origins are allowed to sell crafts and carry out other practices, see Figure 6. Most of the vendors are organised by a leader who protects them and ensures their access to space. In general, the vendors in this square are not related to the communities that produce the crafts, they buy wholesale in the nearby area and sell at higher prices to tourists visiting the Templo Mayor area.



Figure 6 Seminario square (LO 2012)

From Seminario you can start walking down Moneda Street to the east; you will start to see some hawkers selling small goods like bags and toys, most of the items are low-price/low-quality imports from Asian countries. A police truck is usually parked nearby. Vendors are not allowed in this area, but it is quite evident that vendors and police have informal agreements and the vendors are in fact tolerated; yet, at times, the police pretend to chase them out.

Hawkers selling in this area are organised by local leaders, many of them from Tepito. The commodities are the property of the leaders and they pay hawkers a fixed amount of money to sell them in the streets. They operate in groups pretending to be harassed by the police; local leaders have their territories and in case of need they renegotiate with authorities. Vendors in this place are in general young people, between the ages of 16 and 20, most of them come from the outskirts of the metropolitan area.

The first street to the left from Moneda Street is the corridor Correo Mayor–El Carmen–Aztecas Street. It is mainly pedestrian; some vehicles pass but very few. The same kind of groups operates in this street. The street vending activity increases three blocks to the north becoming increasingly present. A great volume of commodities is stored directly on the streets, and vendors occupy the corners and the sidewalks with racks or tables to display their goods, see Figure 7.

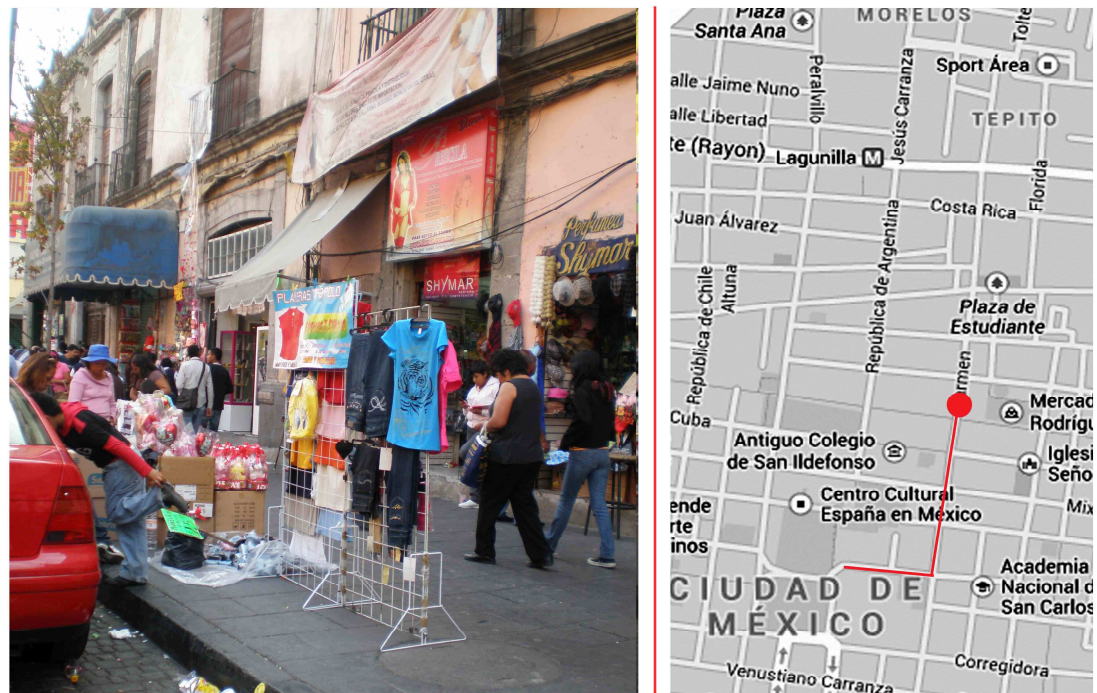


Figure 7 El Carmen Street (LO 2012)

One day, I took a photo of the commodities in the streets, but a person on a motorcycle immediately arrived and warned me not to do that; he added that it could be dangerous for me as the area is not safe. In effect, he was not protecting me, but it was a subtle way of saying ‘you cannot do that’; he was protecting his business and enforcing the area’s codes. This person is a local leader; in general, they carry walkie-talkies and patrol their territories on motorcycles. As soon as this happened, I clearly felt that I was not on a

street where I could act with a certain degree of freedom; on the contrary, I had the impression that I was in someone else's 'house', a place with particular codes that must be respected in order to remain welcome or safe.

As you keep walking towards the north, you will find specialised commercial streets. Bolivia Street is specialised in cuddly toys, Colombia Street in bags, Girón Street in imported toys, etc. However, the form of the market changes radically starting on Apartado Street. The number of customers and vendors increases, noise amplifies and contact with other people becomes very intense. If vendors need to pass, they will move forward aggressively. The street market occupies the total length of the two sidewalks with permanent metallic structures, see Figure 8. Starting in this area, the profile of the vendors also changes; many of them are local people, they have well established stalls in the streets and continuously shout to attract clients. In the facades of the buildings you can see establishments run by Asian migrants, many of them from Korean origin. These shops sell the same kind of goods, shoes and bags. It is rumoured that some of them sell arms from the rear of their shops. This is plausible, as the shops are closed during the night with metallic roller doors and a supplementary high security gate. This is the starting point of the Tepito market.



Figure 8 Aztecas Street (LO 2011)

In the Tepito core area, the main commercial corridors are also covered with permanent structures. The commodities displayed and the market structures dominate the visual

image of the streets, see Figure 9. Entrances to the *vecindades* are small and hidden by the market, but the doors are always open.



Figure 9 Tepito core area (LO 2012)

As soon as you enter into the collective houses, you will have the impression of being in an entirely different place. An altar to the Virgin of Guadalupe is placed in every entrance, in the portico and sometimes under the stairs. When you pass the portico you can see that all of the dwellings are arranged around a central patio, see Figure 10. When I entered one of the oldest *vecindades* in the centre of Tepito, Caridad No. 13, for the first time, I was able to imagine how Tepito looked before its transformation. There were some elderly people in the patio, having coffee, talking and enjoying the sun, while other women were washing clothes by hand; there were flowers, especially geraniums of different colours, bird's cages, clothes drying everywhere, and some chickens searching for food on the floor. Time seems to pass at a different pace inside the *vecindad*. It was very strange to go from the noise and intensity of the market to the peacefulness of the patios, which almost seemed to belong to a rural area; yet, I was in the heart of the metropolis.

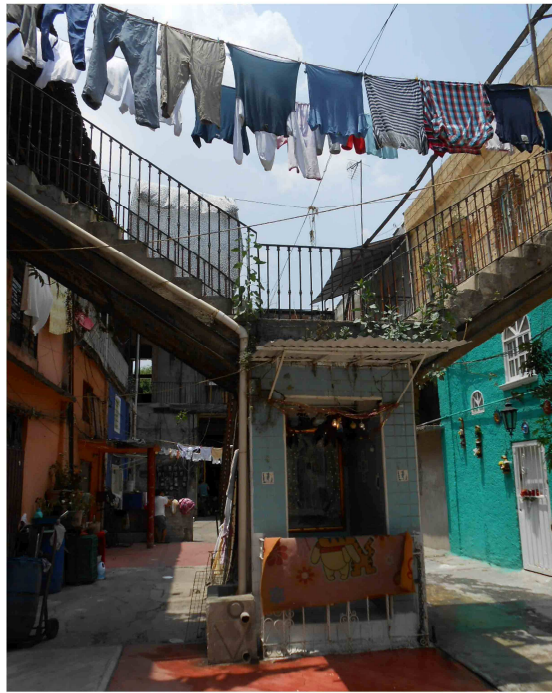


Figure 10 *Vecindad* on Caridad Street (LO 2012)

In the past, the *vecindades* were the centre of the organisation of the Tepito community. They used to have an intense social and productive life where dancing, festivities, children playing, religious organisations, shoe making workshops, and many other activities took place. The residents say that the streets used to work as extensions of the patios of the *vecindades*, also used for a multiplicity of social and economic activities; now it is no longer possible due to the market's intrusion.

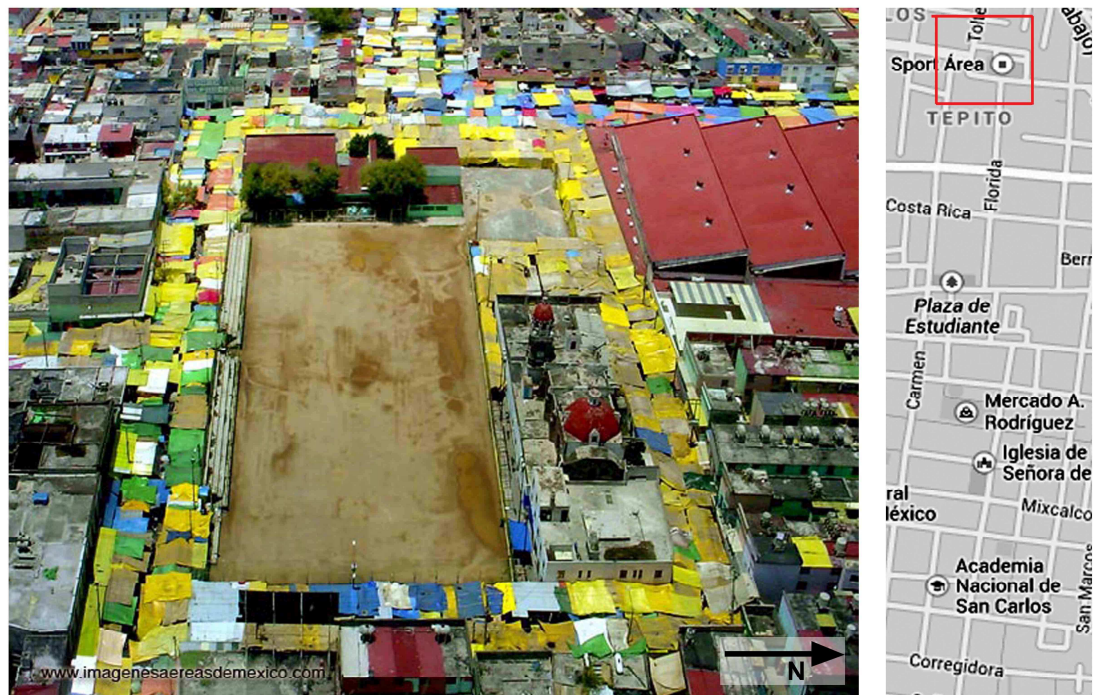


Figure 11 Aerial view of Tepito's core area

Figure 11 shows an aerial photograph of the Tepito core area. From this view, it is clear that two different 'worlds' or 'orders' co-exist in the same place: the community organisation and the marketplace. The image shows the centre of Tepito, the Church, the sports area and the houses that are embedded within the street market organisation.

This case is used to look at the production of space by a street vending system and the forces that make this possible over time. This is used in this work to conceptualise the transformation of space. In the following parts I explain the methods used to explore the case.

3.1.2 Method 1: Historical review

The revision of historical events is never impartial. The historical review of the case was based on the 'continuities and discontinuities' approach proposed by Henri Lefebvre (1968). The approach considers that the transformation of space is not a continuous evolution, but an irregular process characterised by events that change the course of events and by those processes articulated with the past. From Lefebvre's point of view, a revision of history must identify which are those features that come from the past, and

those that represent a novelty. 'Continuities' refer to those processes that extend over long periods of time, while 'discontinuities' are tipping points in the process which drive the organisation to a different path. Lefebvre developed this idea in his book *The Right to the City* in 1968 (Lefebvre 1968).

Lefebvre uses this approach to argue that modernity, especially the way in which the territory is organised, represents a rupture with previous city-making processes. In previous organisations, design responded to the practices and codes of space. Lefebvre uses the example of Italian cities to develop his argument. While in modernity the master plan imposes a new order to the city and implies a recodification of social space.

In the case of the Tepito street market, this approach is suitable to argue that even if the market maintains some connexions to previous markets; its actual form is a modern production. Many markets from around the world were marketplaces since ancient times, due to their locations and their integration to the cities, but this doesn't mean that their actual organisation remains the same. However, it is considered important for the historical revision to identify the aspects that represent a continuum with the past and represent new patterns of the organisation of space. The historical review of the case is presented in the next part of this chapter.

3.1.3 Method 2: Multi-scale spatial analysis

This method was developed to understand the organisation of the street market and the relation between the expansion of the market and the transformation of the neighbourhood as a social milieu.

Spatial analyses identify the role that the different components of a territory play in the configurations of space. These analyses follow a similar approach to Kevin Lynch's (1960) and Aldo Rossi's (1966) adapted to Systems theory. In the case of the market, I identify nodes, main commercial corridors, secondary street markets, services related to the market, etc. and look at how these elements shape commercial structures on space. In the case of the community organisation, I focus on the relationship between the collective houses and the streets. This is to show how the logic of the market has affected the configuration of space and the role these elements play in the general organisation of the neighbourhood.

During my time in the field, I started mapping and analysing the configuration of space in the North Sector. I remained in a street-stall for some weeks at the Aztecas market and made some visits to the area with local vendors and inhabitants. The more time I spent there, the more I realised that some elements of the market constituted 'a world' of its own and deserved special attention and particular analysis. For example, a street is a complex socio-spatial organisation; the same occurs with the street stalls. I also started observing the connexions between the houses and the streets and between the stalls and the commodities' distribution networks. Intuitively, I began doing a particular analysis, using specific cases to explore the functioning of these elements and how they are interconnected at varied scales. As a result of this intuitive procedure, I developed a method of spatial analysis at different interconnected scales. In fact, markets are quintessential places of exchange; they develop multiple spatial relationships as a consequence of their nature. A suitable method was necessary to understand these relationships.

The method proposes to understand space as a 'Russian nesting doll', as an organisation that is formed by multiples layers, each with its own unity. Layers are interrelated; for example, to understand the organisation of a street, it is necessary to unfold the sector, city and metropolitan layers. The rationale is to identify the connections among these diversified layers.

The method consisted of the following steps. Firstly, I established the north sector as the scale of departure. I applied spatial analysis at this scale to understand the spatial configuration of the market and its relationship to the community organisation. Secondly, I identified components that are relevant to the functioning of the market or the community organisation. This was done by observation, informants' discourses and understanding the general function of the commercial and social organisations. Thirdly, I chose the cases to study these components as 'objects' of analysis on their own. Lastly, I established the connections between these components and the general organisation of the North Sector.

North Sector - scale

The area of study was defined in relation to the street market, but it also contains the elements of the neighbourhood organisation. The market was analysed at three scales: sector, street and individual stall. The community organisation of the market was analysed at two scales: sector and *vecindad*.

Figure 12 shows the North Sector area and the specific objects of study. Scales 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 in blue refer to elements that are at the same scale. The 'S-1.1' corresponds to Aztecas Street, 'S-1.2' to the *vecindad* at No. 63 on Aztecas Street and 'S-1.3' to the *vecindad* at No. 4 on Callejón Tenochtitlán Street. The 'S-2' is a sub-component of the Aztecas Street market; it corresponds to stall 141.

The scales S+1, S+2, S+3 and S+4 correspond to the city centre, the metropolitan area, the national territory and the transnational scales, respectively. These scales are not analysed by themselves, but are related to the market organisation, especially to the supply-distribution chains of the commodities.

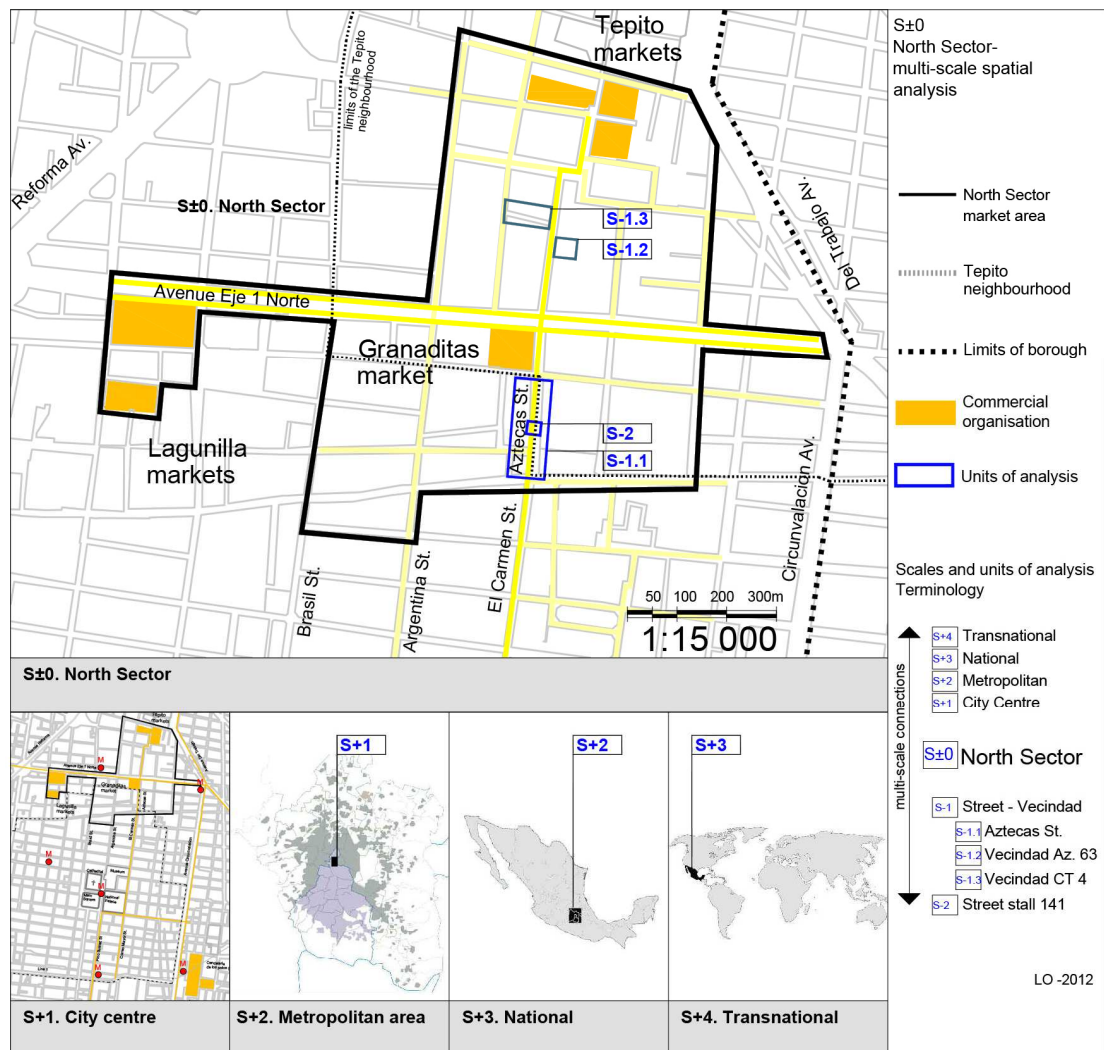


Figure 12 The North Sector scale

The spatial analysis done at the North Sector scale allows an understanding of the territory as a complex double organisation; that is, as a 'commercial body' producing space out of the community organisation.

Street - scale

The commercial streets are occupied and organised by autonomous, well-organised unions. The streets are the socio-spatial units of the market's organisation as a whole. In the North Sector there are 62 different groups, some were formed in the 1960s when the market was starting to organise, and others in the 1990s when a general re-organisation took place. The size, political power and number of affiliates may have important variations; some groups have 100 to 300 members, while others have up to 1600. These unions co-exist not without tensions; yet, keep certain equilibrium under a local code of mutual 'respect'. But, if the market is threatened in its integrity, as has occurred in the past, the associations show capacity to collaborate strategically to achieve a common objective.

The commercial streets are divided into specific trading areas; this division is informal by policy, but has been negotiated and clearly defined with the local authorities. The distribution of the trading areas may change depending on political movements and periods of festivities. In fact, the unions support specific candidates for the local and city government, so the form of the market may present slight changes in relation to the political movements. However, since the 1990s, when the PRD party has been in office at the local and city level, the market presents stability in its spatial distribution. The negotiation of the vending areas is a task of the leaders of the associations. However, they get pressure from the traders, especially from qualified street vendors who have economic interests in the area.

In order to analyse the functioning of a street, I chose the case of Aztecas Street, specifically the market area corresponding to the west sidewalk from Apartado Street, also called Peña y Peña Street, to Costa Rica Street. Figure 13 shows the location of Aztecas Street in relation to the North Sector and within its immediate context. The area in blue colour represents the area of study.

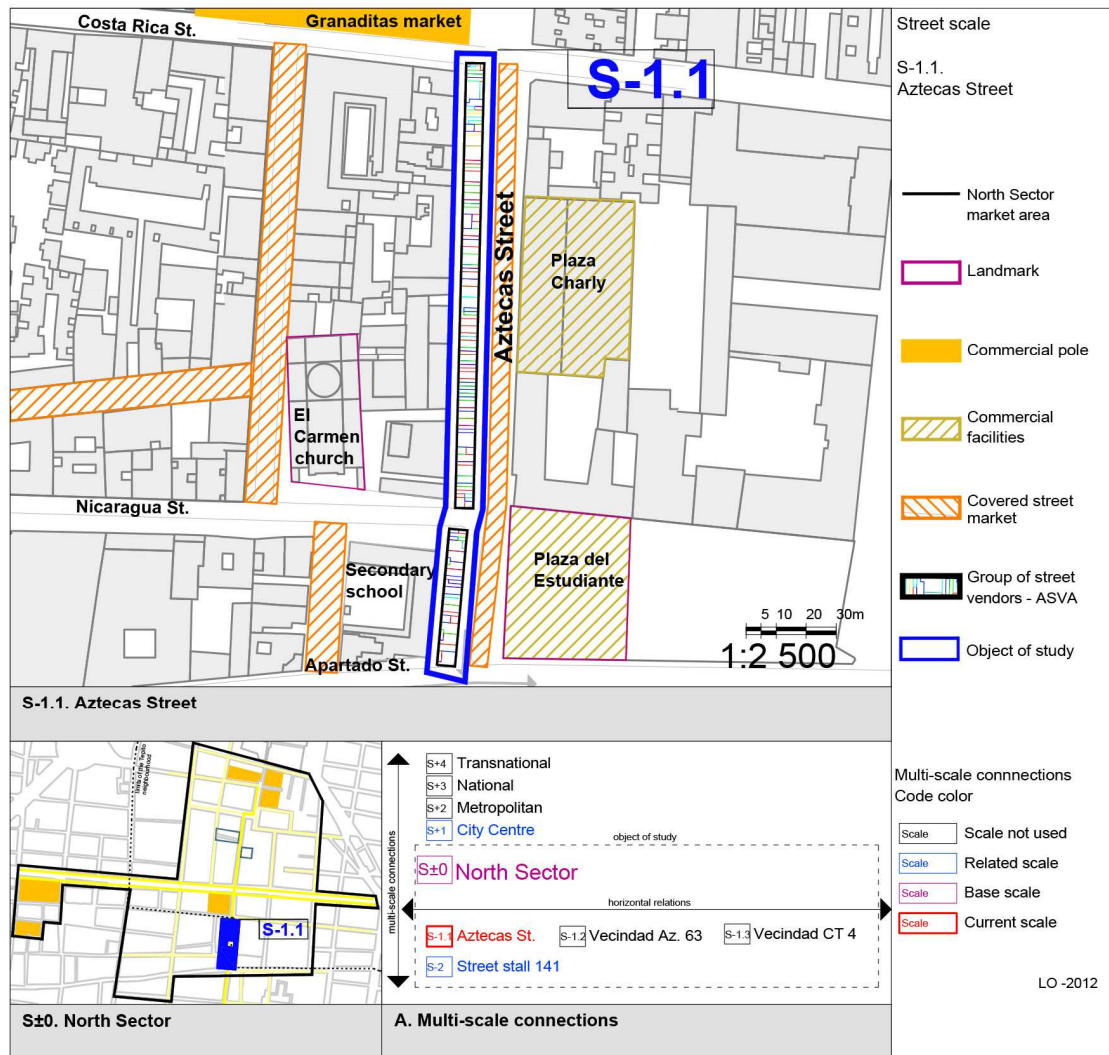


Figure 13 Aztecas Street plan

This focus area was chosen for the strategic location of Aztecas Street as a major commercial corridor. The vending area in this street is more valuable than in the surrounding streets. In fact, Aztecas Street connects the City Centre with Eje 1 Avenue; this street is a natural pedestrian path which can explain the success of the commercial corridor.

Today, Aztecas Street is used as a permanent street market between Apartado and Costa Rica streets. It keeps two pedestrian corridors along the facades of each side, each with one meter of width, and a central vehicle lane. There is approximately a total of 600 street vendors in this commercial area of Aztecas Street. Two different unions occupy the vending area in a covered market that they have financed and constructed themselves. Figure 14 shows the profile of the street and the area of study in blue colour.



Figure 14 Aztecas Street image

The west part of the sidewalk is occupied by the Aztecas Street Vendors' Association (ASVA). The ASVA was formed during the 1960s, and it is one of the oldest groups in the area. Besides its strategic location, the case was chosen because reliable information from the ASVA was accessible.

Stall - scale

I chose stall 141 on Aztecas Street due to its strategic location and the qualified profile of the owner. The objective is to understand the functioning of the market as a place to run micro-businesses, dynamic economic units. In fact, the stalls are the point of sale of the street market; the element that connects the market to costumers, importers, producers. Actually, the organisation of the market functions as a constellation of these units.

Street stalls distribute commodities imported from Asia and also some that are produced in the metropolitan area. Food stalls are also present in the area but mainly cater to local visitors to the market.

The location of stall 141 is shown in Figure 15. The diagram in the bottom right area of the figure shows the connections at multiple scales that might be established by street stalls.

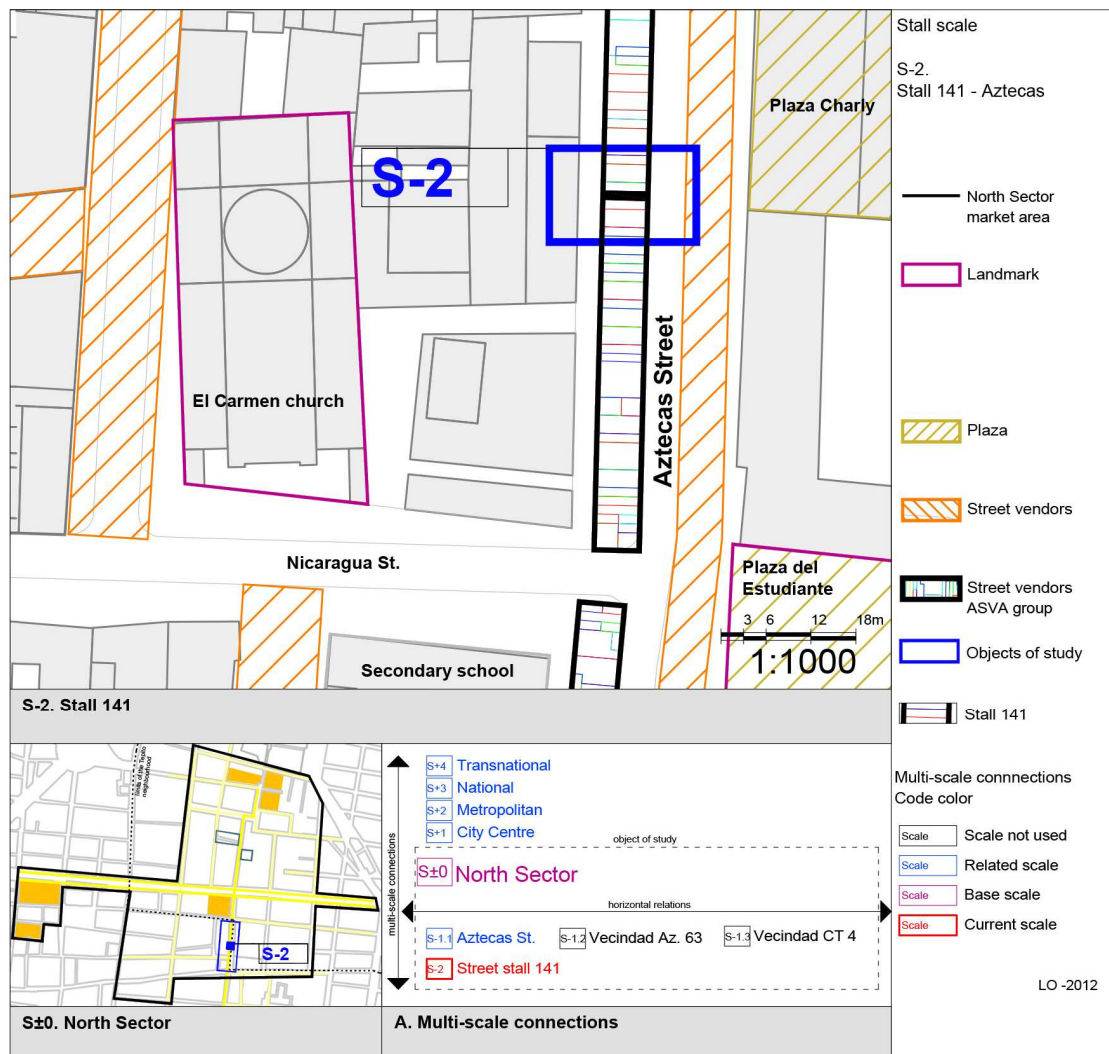


Figure 15 Stall 141 on Aztecas Street

The analysis of the stalls' scale explores the commercial logic of the street market and the multiple connections that the stalls establish with other components of the system. The objective is to understand the relationship between the commercial success of the street stalls and the increase of the commercial value of the streets.

***Vecindad* - scale**

The *vecindades*, as Alfonso Hernández said, are the 'backbone' of the Tepito neighbourhood. Before the expansion of the market, the streets worked as an extension of the collective houses and formed a *vecindad*-street system (Manrique 1995). I did a

comparison of the functioning of the *vecindad* before and after the expansion of the market in order to explore how the relationship between these two elements had evolved over time.

I visited some *vecindades* in December 2011, during the second field trip, with the intention of choosing an appropriate case. I found that obtaining information about the *vecindades* is even more difficult than about the street markets. Many of the illegal operations of the market take place in the *vecindades*, such as distribution and consumption of drugs, guns and the massive production of pirated CDs. *Vecindades* are indeed real fortresses. I asked a street vendor on Girón Street if she could show me the *vecindad* where she lives; she told me it was impossible because if the neighbours saw her bringing unknown people to the place, she could get into real trouble. She added, however, that she could collaborate with me and give me information, but she couldn't take me to the place.

I chose two cases. The first case is a *vecindad* reconstructed after the 1985 earthquake; the second case is a *vecindad* that kept its original construction, despite the destruction caused by the earthquake. These cases represent the two main typologies of housing in the area and both are located in strategic areas. As for the other units of analysis, reliable information was accessible for these cases, which was also important for choosing them as case studies.

The *vecindad* at No. 63 on Aztecas Street is located in one of the main commercial corridors and near to the Tepito core area, as shown in Figure 16. This *vecindad* was reconstructed in 1986, after the earthquake. Through the analysis of this *vecindad*, I explore the profile of the residents, their uses of and relations to space.

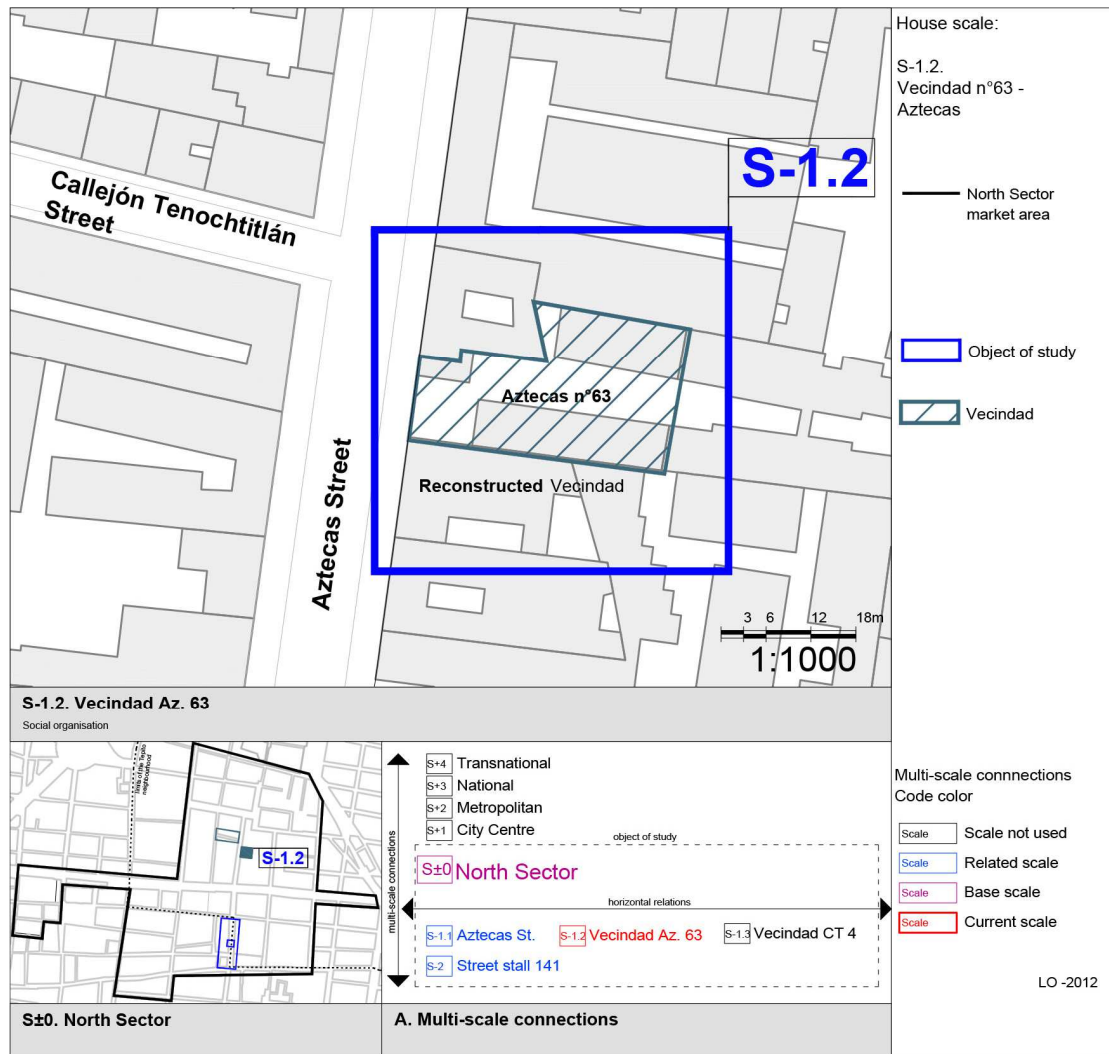


Figure 16 The *vecindad* at Aztecas No. 63

The second case is *vecindad* No. 4 located on Callejón Tenochtitlán Street (CT Street), also in the Tepito core area as shown in Figure 17. This *vecindad* was not reconstructed after the earthquake and it kept its original construction. The CT Street was the ‘epicentre’ of the ‘*fayuca*’ market, *fayuca* means smuggled goods. In the last decades, several *vecindades* in this particular street, especially *vecindad* No. 40 in Tenochtitlán Street, had become important hubs for the distribution of drugs. This case is relevant to explore the increasing vulnerability of the neighbourhood and to show the incapacity of the Tepito community to deal with this kind of problem.

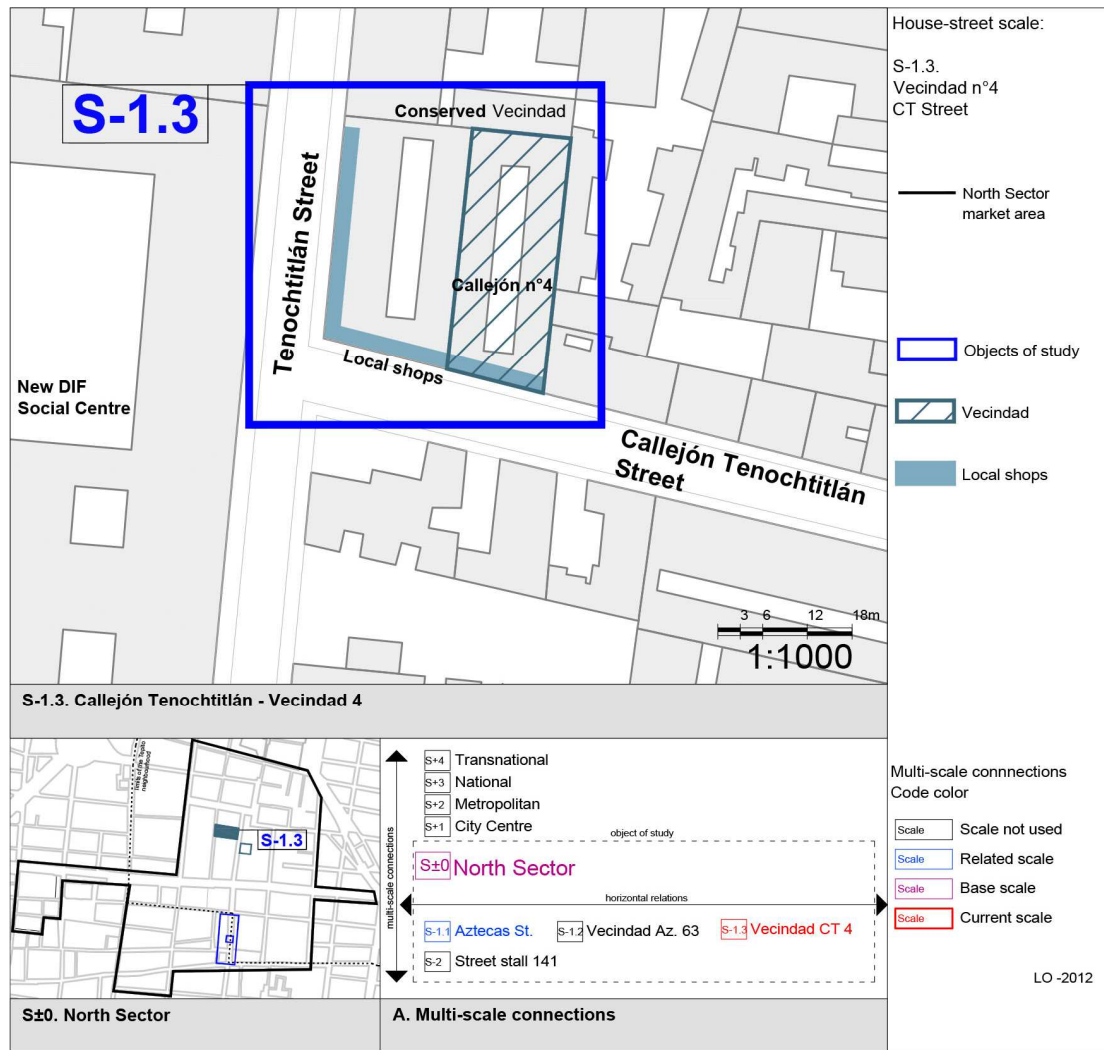


Figure 17 Vecindad No. 4 and local shops

Multi-scale spatial analysis is a method developed to understand the spatial structures formed by the street market, and how this configuration affects the organisation of the neighbourhood. Specific elements of the North Sector are analysed to understand the form of the street market and its capacity to transform the territory.

3.1.4 Method 3: Social space decoding

Social space decoding explores the relations between social organisation and the form of space. This perspective considers space as a 'social construct'; space is a social and cultural 'object' that groups of people mould by the way they use it and the codes that that space implies. As developed in the theory chapter, space has a social and cultural 'syntax'.

Social space decoding is presented as a separate method, but it is complementary to spatial analysis.

I worked with key informants to understand the market and the transformation of the neighbourhood. I applied and slightly adapted the specific methods according to the kind of information I required and the difficulties that I faced. I worked with key informants with whom I build up a relationship of mutual trust; my understanding of the market and the Tepito neighbourhood is grounded on the work done with the informants.

More details about the specific analysis can be found in the following paragraphs, but in general I used discourse analysis with spatial analysis and mapping, I did this with the collaboration of the informants. I decided not to record the conversations with informants as I felt that people tended to change their discourses, I was also feeling more comfortable without recording. I took notes during conversations and visits and wrote down my impressions and details every day after the field.

The discourse analysis involved several interviews, visits to the place, and informal conversations with informants. I explained what I was searching and let informants share the information and anecdotes that they considered relevant to share with me. They invited me to their houses to have coffee and also told me many things about their culture, which was useful to have a deeper understanding of the object of study. The discourse analysis applied to the information provided by leaders was particularly challenging, as they tended to talk about their organisation as a 'family' and the group as a 'community' beyond a commercial organisation, while the vendors had a different perception. In this case, discourse analysis was done taking into account contrasting opinions and discourses from other actors.

To balance the discourses of informants, it was fundamental to stay in the place for long time, observing, taking notes, talking with different people and do cross-checking of the information obtained. I adapted some methods, for example the analysis of the transformation of the *vecindades* and the multi-scalar analysis of the market organisation to understand how the market worked at multiple levels.

Open questions were prepared to frame the collection of information. In relation to the market, questions were oriented to understand its functioning, the role of leaders and vendors, their story and how they were able to resist eviction and consolidate a vibrant market over time. In relation to the Tepito neighbourhood the questions were focused on

the story of the Tepito neighbourhood, the way it functioned before and the process of transformation from the perspective of community residents, non-vendors.

To analyse the relationship between the vendors union and the authorities over time, I held two in-depth interviews with the leaders of the union in Aztecas Street. I prepared a list of open questions. I expected them to follow the order of the questions but rather they started talking about them but jumping from one to another, their discourse was not structured. I took notes and wrote down as many details as possible after the interviews. To make sense of the information I separated it into different topics corresponding to different analyses, for example information regarding the history of the market, information corresponding to the current organisation of the market, that related to their relation to the authorities. I compared the information with other sources to understand if it was reliable. For example, I read a research work on the leaders of the street vendors in the Historic Centre (Ziccardi 2010) and found many similarities, that validated the discourse of the leaders. Discourse analyses are reflected on Chapter 4, Part 4.2 on the history of the union, relation with the authorities and consolidation of the market over time and Part 4.3 on the functioning of the streets co-management structure 'leaders-authorities'.

In the case of the informant who introduced me to the functioning of the market, I used a technique known as 'commented visits'. He chose the paths and places to explain how the market works, we visited the area a couple of times and did detailed explanations during the visits. I used the information to build a map about the commercial organisation of the North Sector (Chapter 5, Part 5.1). He also gave me details of the functioning of his stall and the commercial connections he was able to establish, this information is explained in Chapter 5, Part 5.3. He helped me to define the information to do the quantitative analysis of Aztecas street and define the different profiles of the vendors sitting there. I did a detailed mapping with the data obtained from the quantitative survey (Chapter 5, Part 5.3).

In the case of the analysis of Tepito and the *vecindades* and their relation to the streets, I did 'commented visits' with a key informant to understand the neighbourhood as a social codification and took notes and photos. I produced a series of maps to understand the transformation of the neighbourhood, the analysis is presented in Chapter 6, Part 6.1. As I was researching the Tepito organisation, I realised the importance of the *vecindades*. I decided to do analyses at this scale to show the transformation of the social relations

within space, a fundamental aspect to understand how the local community reproduce its social cohesion. Two analyses of *vecindades* are presented in Part 6.2 and Part 6.3.

The methodology might appear to be a collection of detailed, specific analysis done to different objects of analysis at multiple levels, the challenging part was to make sense of a general process. In fact, I am arguing that the multi-scalar organisation of the market has a direct relation with the transformation of the Tepito neighbourhood, and the social relations it contains. These interrelated processes characterise a general movement: a 'production of space'. The business in Tepito is the neighbourhood itself, this is due to the fact that it has become an exchange-value, this has an impact on the organisation of the neighbourhood as a use-value depleting social cohesion, an important attribute for city sustainability. The relation of the specific analysis and the general argument related to the production of space is explained with diagrams in the Chapter 3, Part 3.3.

The main limitation of the methodology is related to the specificity of the cases, i.e. the use of the Tepito case and the specific units of analysis. Paradoxically, this limitation is also the thesis strength as I was able to look at apparently disconnected phenomena in detail. The fact that I was doing research in India about the same topic was also helpful to understand that the dynamics related to the functioning of the market presented general tendencies, while the organisation of the local community required a specific understanding.

In the case of the specific analyses, I overcome the limitations by understanding the specificity of the case in relation to a wider context. For example, I choose to analyse Aztecas Street, this is a major commercial corridor in the area. Dynamics in other streets might be different, specially their efficiency and commercial value; however this example was useful to illustrate how a street has become, in spatial form and organisation, almost a like a private mall.

The three main methods: the case historical review, multi-scale spatial analysis and social space decoding were useful to observe the transformation of the Tepito neighbourhood and the role played by the increasing organisation of the market activities in the area in social and spatial terms.

3.2 Case historical review

This review highlights the complexity of the process that transforms a neighbourhood into a commercial system and the multiplicity of factors that are involved. Production of space in this case is driven by the commercial interest of the area rather than by the explicit will of a centralised authority.

The main idea supported in this review is that although the market appears to have a continuum with its past, it still has a modern form. This thesis reacts explicitly to the work proposed by González et al. *Informal Republic* (2008)³⁵, in which the authors suggest that the Aztec merchants, '*pochtecas*', progressively became actual street vendors. The problem with considering the history of the market as a continuum is that it nuances the emergence of a new, highly-organised, powerful system, and its capacity to transform the value of space.

The review is divided into five periods of time: 1) the Aztec city until 1521; 2) the Spanish city from 1521 to 1950; 3) the modern city from 1950 to 1970; 4) the metropolis from 1970 to 1990; and, 5) the global city from 1990 to 2010.

Figure 18 presents a diagram of the process over time, a larger version can be found in Annex 3. The five periods are shown in different shades of grey and are numbered in the lower part of the diagram. The first line shows the periods of time, while the second indicates relevant events and the year in which they occurred. The third to the seventh lines show independent, but related processes: the macroeconomic models, the political organisation of Mexico City, the urban expansion, the evolution of the Tepito neighbourhood, and finally the consolidation of the Tepito market. The zigzag lines indicate ruptures in the processes; moments of radical change. The red discs show the relationship between specific events and how they affected different dimensions of the phenomena. For example, the 1985 earthquake had an impact on the political dimension at city level and also on the reconfiguration of the Tepito neighbourhood.

³⁵ González, Torres Medina and Jiménez (2008) *The informal Republic: peddlers in Mexico City*, Miguel Ángel Porrúa, Mexico City.

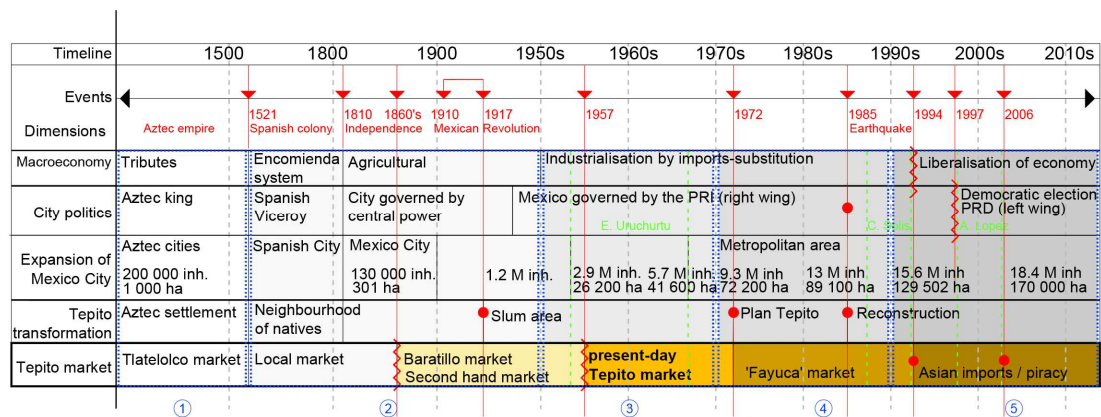


Figure 18 Historical review (see Annex 3)

This way of interpreting the historical events allowed me to relate several dimensions, especially from the economic, political and metropolitan, which occurred at different scales; to the expansion of the Tepito street market, which is in fact at the micro level. Indeed, I am arguing that to understand this local process, it is necessary to understand how it is interconnected to the wider ones. The details of each period will be developed in the following parts.

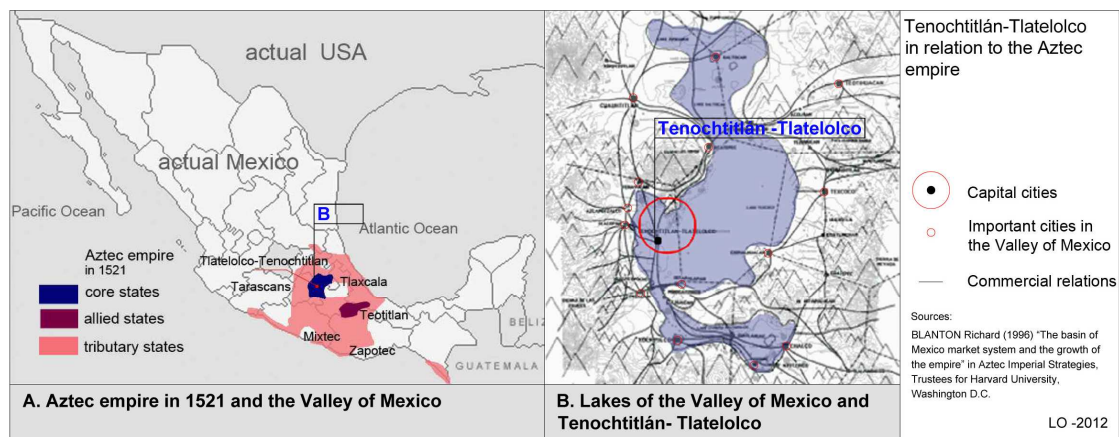
3.2.1 The Tlatelolco market and the Aztec empire (- 1521)

The North Sector is located approximately one kilometre east of the place occupied by the Tlatelolco *tianguis*³⁶, the most important market of the Aztec empire. The characteristics of the area have been favourable to the development of a centralised marketplace since ancient times (Blanton 1996). The empire established their capital in the cities of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlán in the Valley of Mexico, as shown in Map 1. The Tlatelolco market responded to the economic and political organisation of the Aztec empire; it largely extended into the central part of current Mexico.

Map 1 shows the system of cities in the Valley of Mexico and the capital cities Tenochtitlán and Tlatelolco located on two connected islands in the Texcoco Lake³⁷. This location was strategic to control commerce with northern and southern cities and on trading routes, while at the same time being isolated to protect themselves against invasions.

³⁶ The word *tianguis* derives from nahuatl 'tianguiztli'; it refers to traditional street markets. This word has a common use in Mexico to refer to street markets.

³⁷ These cities were founded in 1325 AD and were later conquered by the Spanish Royal Crown in 1521.

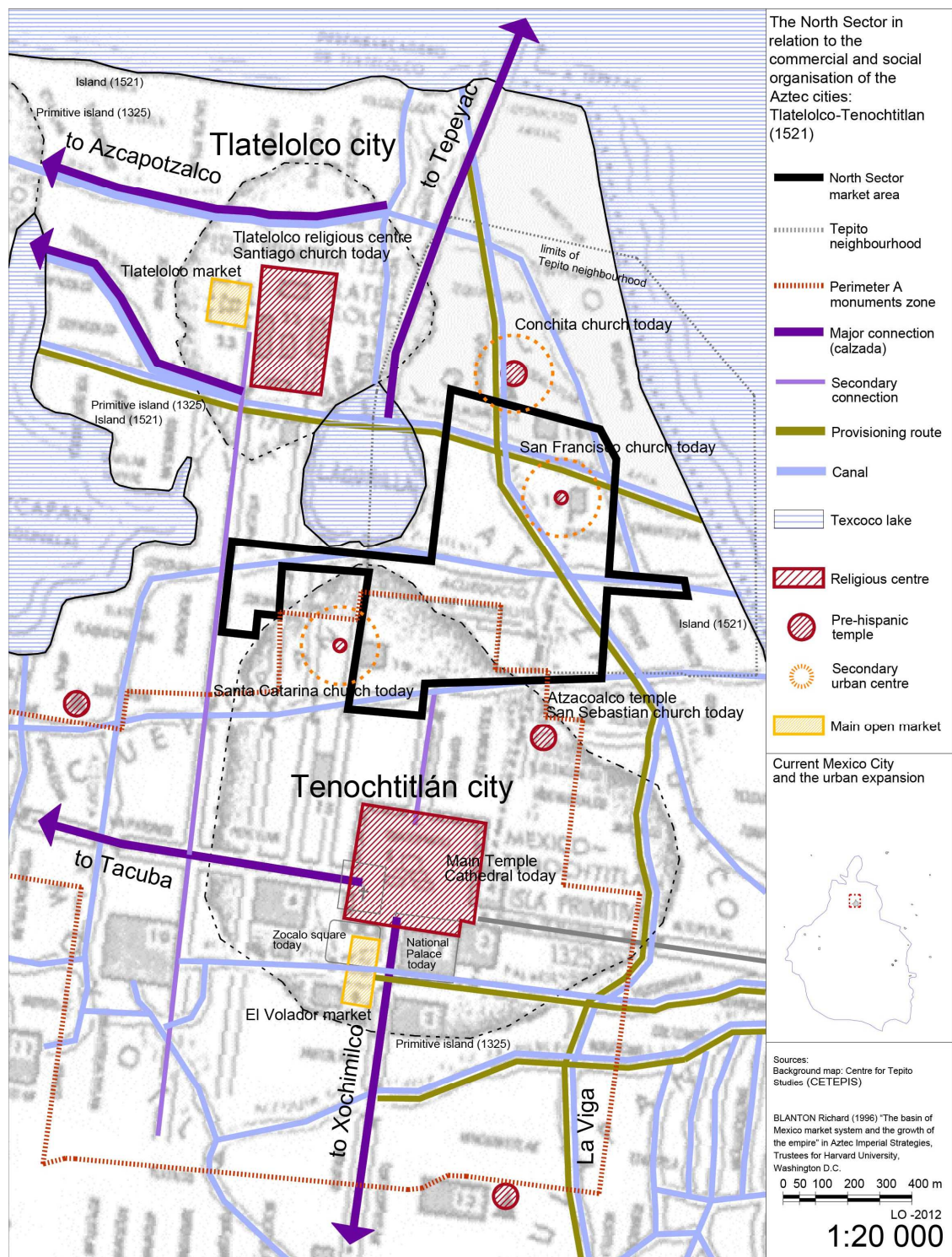


Map 1 Tlatelolco-Tenochtitlán in relation to the Aztec empire

At city scale, the market was situated at the centre of the Tlatelolco city, behind the temples, as shown in yellow in Map 2. In the same way, El Volador market was situated at the heart of Tenochtitlán city. These markets were symbols of the abundance of the valley and the empire (Monnet 1993)³⁸.

The supply of the Tlatelolco and El Volador markets was organised by four major connections to the cities around the lake: Azcapotzalco, Tacuba, Xochimilco and Tepeyac; and a network of canals to the south and north, as shown in Map 2. Presently, the roads that formed such major connections have been transformed into important avenues; the canals have also been converted into avenues and streets. Thus, some features of the ancient layout have remained and have been adapted into the progressive expansion of the city. As shown in Map 2, the North Sector is located in the place where La Viga, one of the most important provisioning canals from the south, intersected with another canal that connected with the areas of La Lagunilla and Tlatelolco. The partial permanence of the layout can explain why this area has remained relatively well connected to its environments, which is an essential attribute for a marketplace.

³⁸ Spanish conquerors were surprised with the markets' size and organisation. Hernán Cortés described the market with these words: 'This city has many squares where trade and commerce go on all the time. There is a square [Tlatelolco] which is twice the size of Salamanca and is surrounded with arcades where more than 70,000 people pass every day buying and selling' (Einadi and Rifaat 1996). The market had a square form, each of its sides measured 200 m long. It offered a wide variety of goods, from primary goods to luxury and rare objects such as textiles, pottery, pigments among others, brought from far regions such as Central America.



Map 2 The North Sector in relation to the Aztec cities

The indigenous settlements in the periphery of the city and their religious centres also remained. In the North Sector, the temples were converted into Christian churches, and the indigenous settlements integrated, not without cultural and social clashes, to the Spanish city. After the conquest, the Spanish didn't erase the previous culture, but

adapted it into a new social and cultural order. The result was a hybrid, conflictive mix of the two cultures. Some of the aspects remained and some were substituted or reinterpreted; the city is a good example of this process.

The current street market in the Tepito neighbourhood emerged on a site that, since Aztec times, was favourable for commerce due to its strategic position in the territory and the socio-economic organisation of the empire. Some features of the previous spatial configurations were maintained over time, which can explain why this place kept its potential as a commercial node.

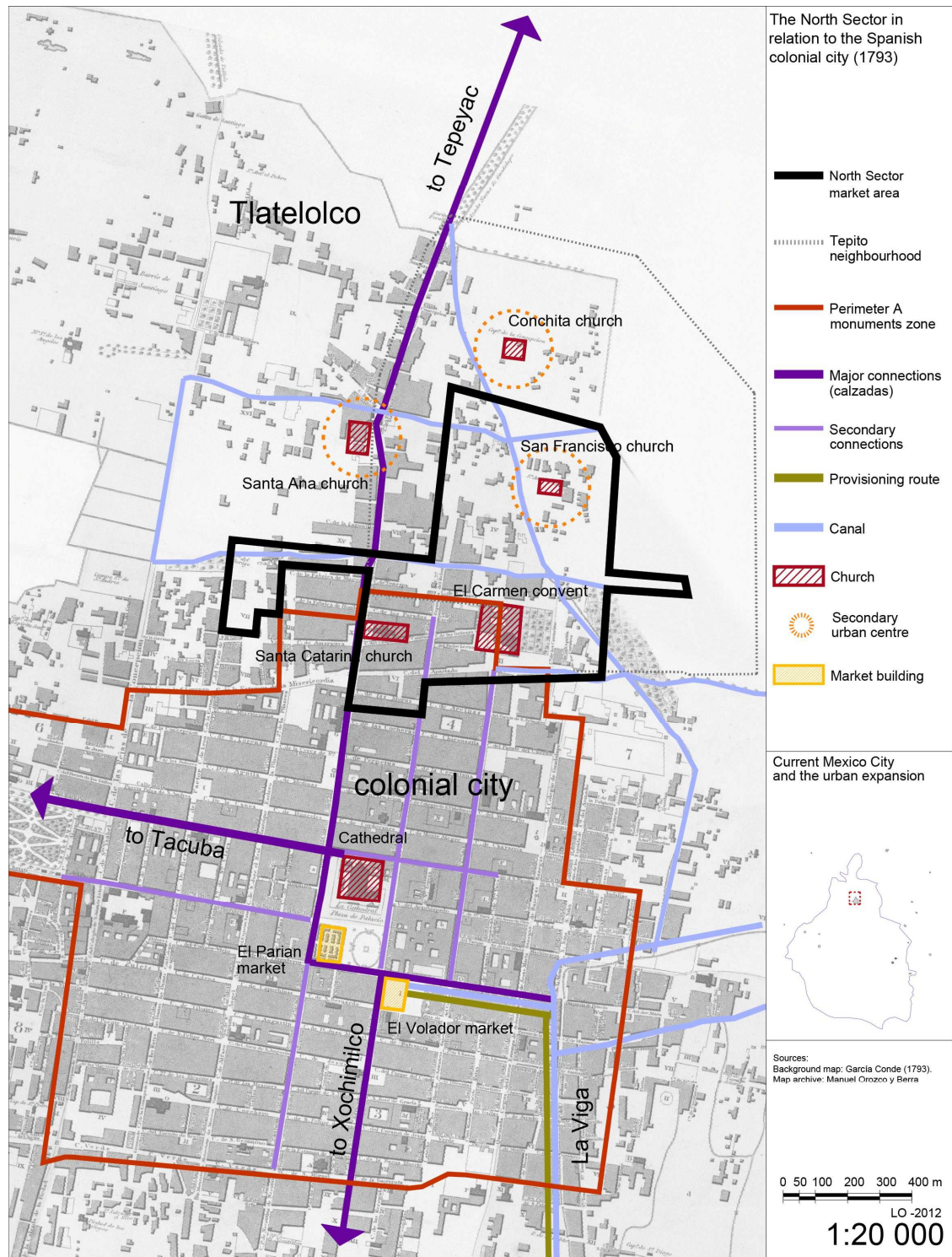
3.2.2 Pre-origins of the Tepito market (1521 – 1950)

After the destruction of the Aztec empire and its commercial system, the Tlatelolco market disappeared. Local street markets occupied the social and religious centres, as is tradition in Mexican culture.

In this period, Tenochtitlán and Tlatelolco were dismantled and integrated into the Spanish city, significantly reducing their populations. The Aztec cities had 200,000 inhabitants in 1521 and only 64,000 inhabitants in 1790 (INEGI 1977). The economic and social order was also transformed, especially regarding agricultural land and property rights.

The centres of the pre-existing cities were transformed and given a Spanish imprint. Catholic churches were built over the Aztec temples. The neighbourhoods of natives, *barrios de indios*, which settled on the peripheries of the Spanish cities were maintained. These settlements were allowed the right to keep their autonomous organisation as a community, which was particular. Populations in these neighbourhoods of natives received support for agricultural activities; they produced milk, meat and other basic products that were consumed in the Spanish city. Hence, there was a symbiotic relation between the Spanish city and the neighbourhoods of natives, but in terms of organisation, they were completely different.

Tepito and La Concepcion Tequihuca, known as La Conchita, were converted into neighbourhoods of natives, as shown in Map 3. These neighbourhoods were almost equivalent to villages on the city periphery. The dwellings were mainly dispersed and the only concentration of houses was found around the San Francisco church in the centre of Tepito and on the lake's shore.



Map 3 The Spanish city in relation to the North Sector

Two new neighbourhoods and their corresponding churches were developed by the Spanish in a nearby area: Santa Ana and Santa Catarina, to the west and south-west of Tepito. La Conchita and the Tepito neighbourhoods have remained over time and have

developed a strong sense of community cohesion. The south of Tepito was settled by the El Carmen monastery, which occupied a large portion of land. This monastery acted as a limit to the Spanish city. The Tepito neighbourhood was at 'the back' of the monastery, relatively disconnected from the city due to this configuration, but at the same time very close to it. Neighbourhoods of natives were organised by their communities themselves. The concept of individual property didn't exist before the Spanish conquest. The land was considered as a 'common'; it belonged to the community and was managed by its members through a representative council. This kind of management was a common practice in the pre-Hispanic cultures (Aréchiga Córdoba 2003). The right to and the value of land was related to its 'use'; this is reflected in the proverb 'the land belongs to the ones that work directly on it'. This kind of organisation of the neighbourhood was maintained even after Mexico's Independence in 1821.

After independence, the capital city recovered a central role in the organisation of the nation, especially in regard to its political and economic activities. The population in Mexico City started increasing rapidly; in this period it had 130,000 inhabitants and covered an area of 301 ha (Rivardière 2011).

This community-based organisation was preserved in Tepito until 1857, when the community, among others, was obliged by the city authorities to sell the land to private owners. This was a strategy to divide plots and integrate these particular neighbourhoods to the expansion of the city. This integration marked the end of the autonomous organisation of the neighbourhoods of natives³⁹.

In the case of Tepito, it was integrated into the Colonia Morelos that belonged to the Cuauhtémoc Borough⁴⁰. However, the local community kept its social cohesion and certain codes of organisation related to tradition. For example, a code that remained is that a person moving in, into a rented dwelling in a *vecindad*, had to pay the old occupant a fee equivalent to 'the use value' that the previous tenant had generated; this is called in Mexican Spanish '*traspaso*'. It means that the monetary value of a dwelling was generated by the person occupying the place over time. This code overlapped the concept of private property. These cultural codes related to property shaped the way the community conceives and practices space. In this conception, the streets, courtyards and open spaces

³⁹ This integration was related to the Laws of Reform (1855-1863).

⁴⁰ In the 19th century when the boroughs and the neighbourhoods were delimited, some of the traditional neighbourhoods which had indigenous origins were not recognised as official entities; this was to facilitate the integration the communities of natives into the expansion of the city (Aréchiga Córdoba 2003).

belong to the community. It is also interesting to see how these conceptions have been accommodated in the street vendors' discourse to legitimate the right to the streets and the payments they obtain from them, as if they were '*traspasos*'. This is monetary value generated by the time an occupant has used a space, in this case for vending. These traditional codes and their evolution towards modernity are at the heart of understanding the social content of space. The street market evolved as a collective asset, a social production.

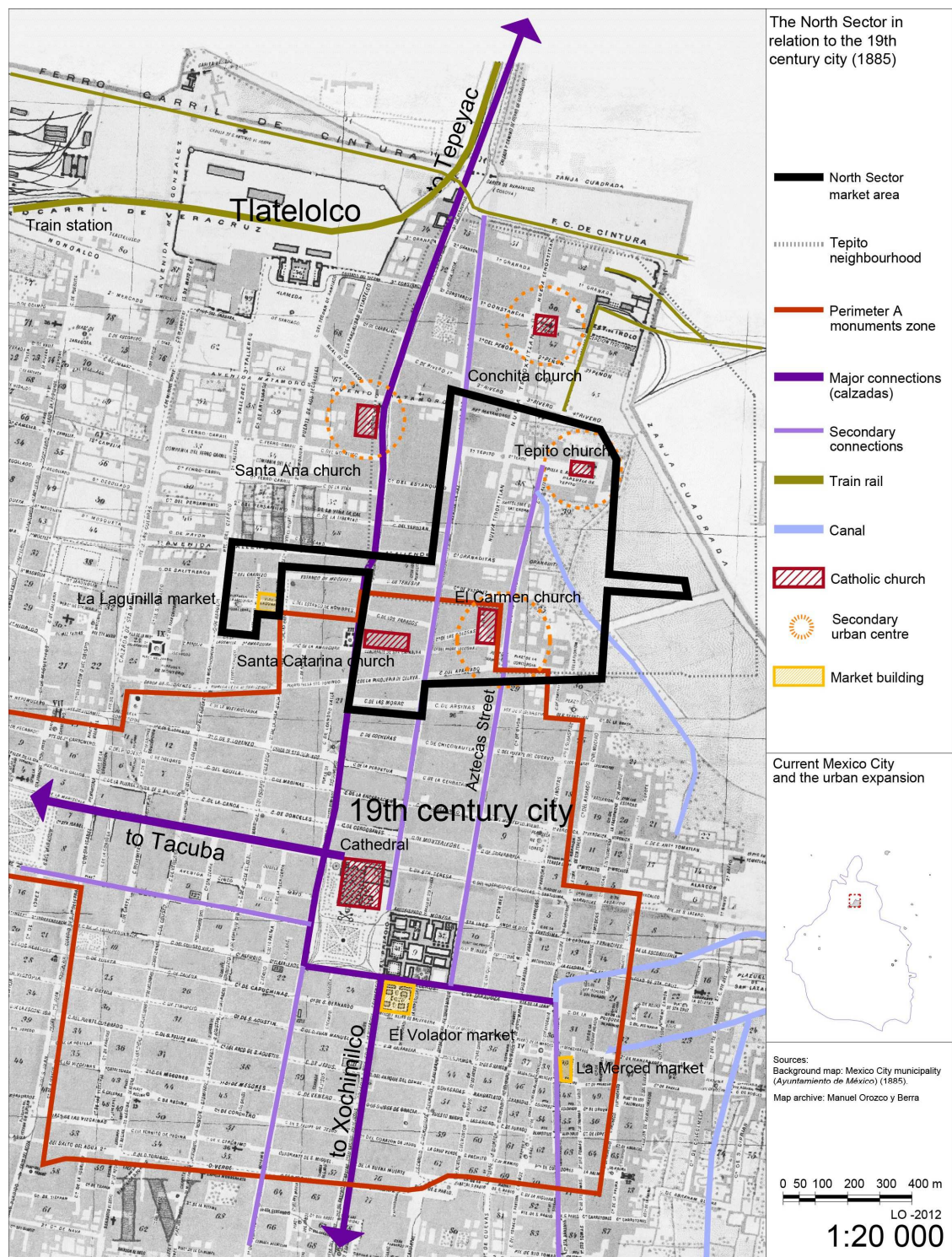
In 1868, the authorities started giving a regular form to the neighbourhood by setting the streets layout and defining plots, as shown in Map 4. However, streets had no pavement and there was no water or electricity until 1935. The lack of basic services made it inexpensive to rent a dwelling in the area, in addition to its prime location in relation to the city centre. For these reasons, migrants coming from the countryside began to establish themselves in Tepito, marking the transition of a village to a slum area.

One major change at the local level was the dismantlement of El Carmen monastery. In fact, the reform of the state prohibited the church to own large extensions of land. This allowed the city authorities to create Aztecas street, a new direct connection from the city centre to the Tepito core area, as shown in Map 4. The development of train connections also benefited the area. The Peralvillo station to the west of Tepito was an important terminal for the provision of goods coming from other regions of the country to the capital. These changes in the configuration of the city gave accessibility to the Tepito neighbourhood, which started building important spatial connections to the city.

During this period, there was political will to beautify the city as a way to express the political power of the new nation. This was done using the European model, especially what had been done in Paris by Baron Haussmann⁴¹. In this 'hygienist' vision of a modern city, the street markets were considered undesirable. The city-scale markets located in the city centre were displaced to the periphery; this was the case of El Parián, El Volador and El Baratillo markets⁴², as shown in Map 5.

⁴¹ The first part of the Reforma Avenue was inspired by the Haussmann Boulevards in Paris as well as the Alameda Park and some other important axes in the City Centre.

⁴² In 1843, El Parián market, located in the Main Square was demolished. Traders of this market were relocated to La Merced market built in 1865; the La Merced area at that time was considered to be the outskirts of the City. El Baratillo, a second-hand market, was also relocated, first to the area of La Lagunilla (today part of the North Sector) and later to the Tepito neighbourhood.



Map 4 Expansion of the city in the 19th century

The market activities in the Tepito neighbourhood had acquired city-scale importance by 1900, when El Baratillo, the most important second-hand market in the city, was relocated to the area as shown in Map 5.

‘The Tepito market has its origins in the years after urbanisation of the surrounding areas of Tepito. During many decades this was the only provisioning centre for neighbourhoods in the North-East of the City’ (Aréchiga Córdoba, 2003:p.215).

Figure 19-A shows a photograph of El Volador market in the city centre before it was relocated to the periphery. Figure 19-B shows La Lagunilla market constructed in 1901. In this image, we can see that street trading had already co-existed with the closed markets. El Baratillo street market was relocated to the Tepito centre after the construction of this market.



A. El Volador market (city centre)

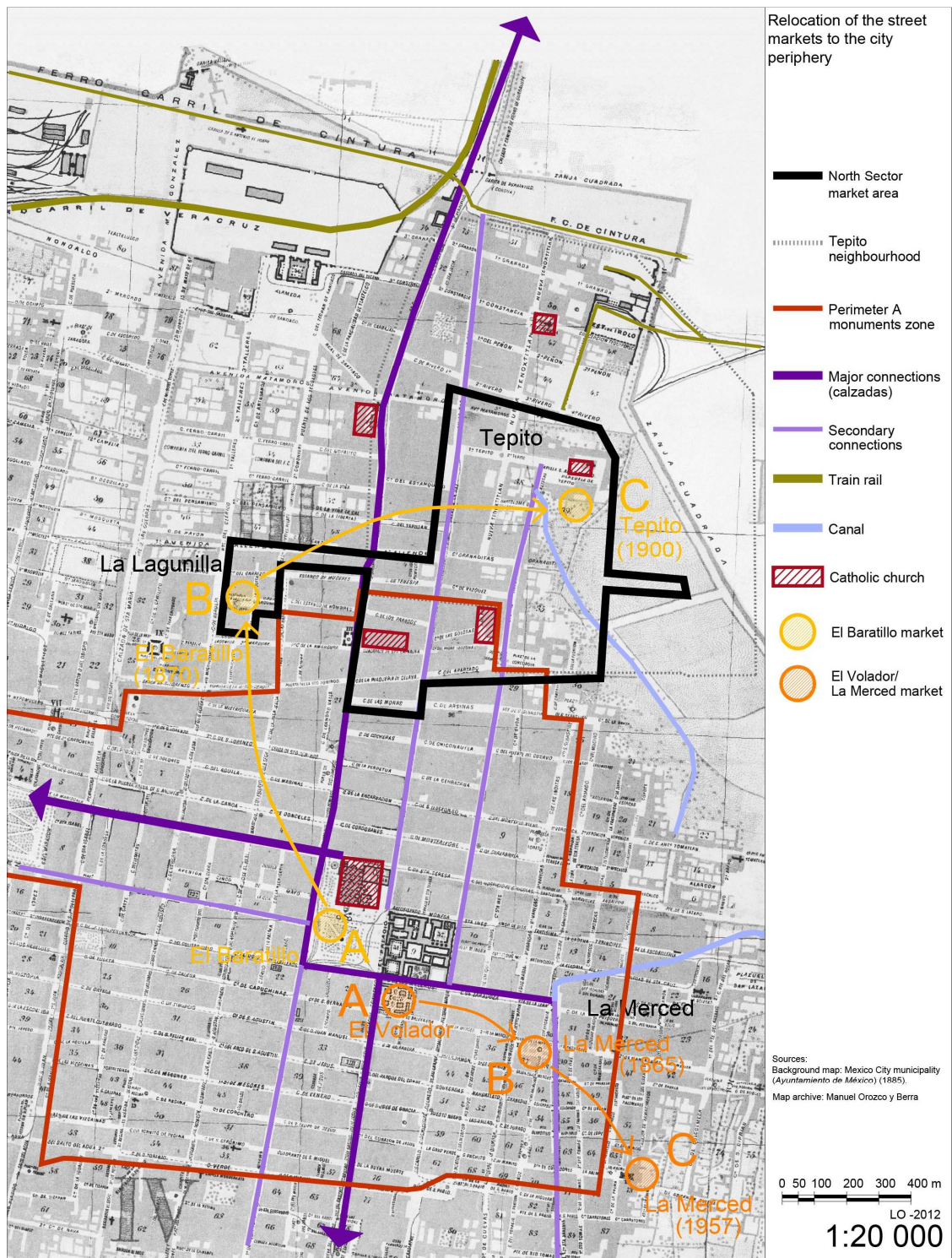


B. La Lagunilla market (city outskirts)

Source: Villasana Torres archives

Figure 19 City markets in Mexico City in the early 20th century

The core of the Tepito street market was situated behind the main church, as shown in Figure 20, and in the area occupied today by the football area. The market extended towards the Fray Bartolomé Street (Aréchiga Córdoba 2003), as shown in Figure 21.



Map 5 Relocation of street markets to the city periphery

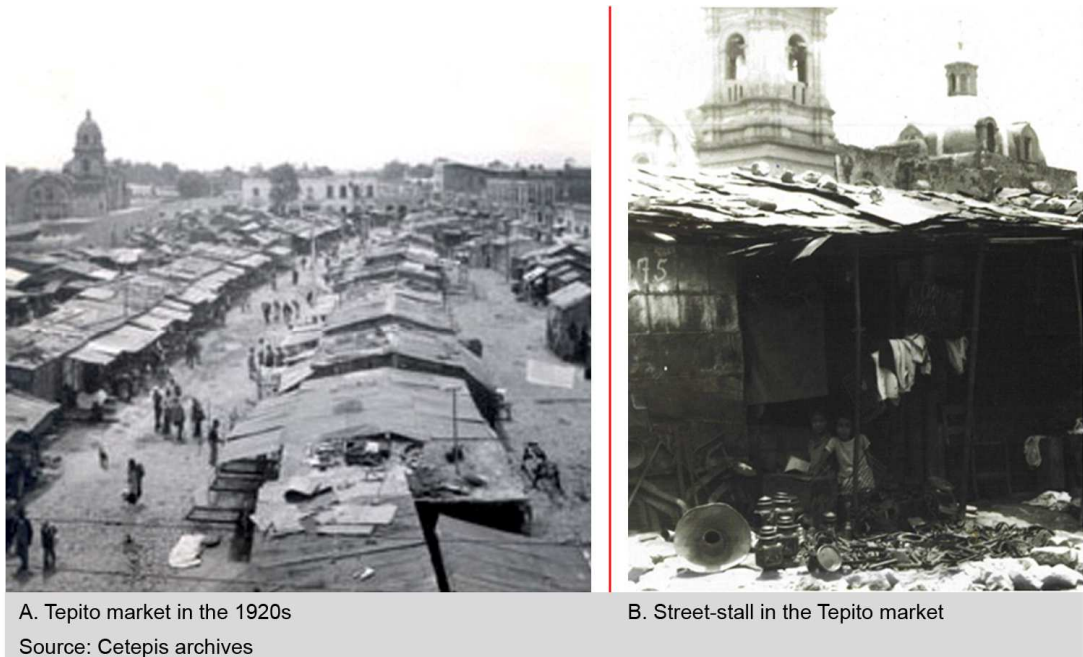


Figure 20 Tepito street market in the 1920s

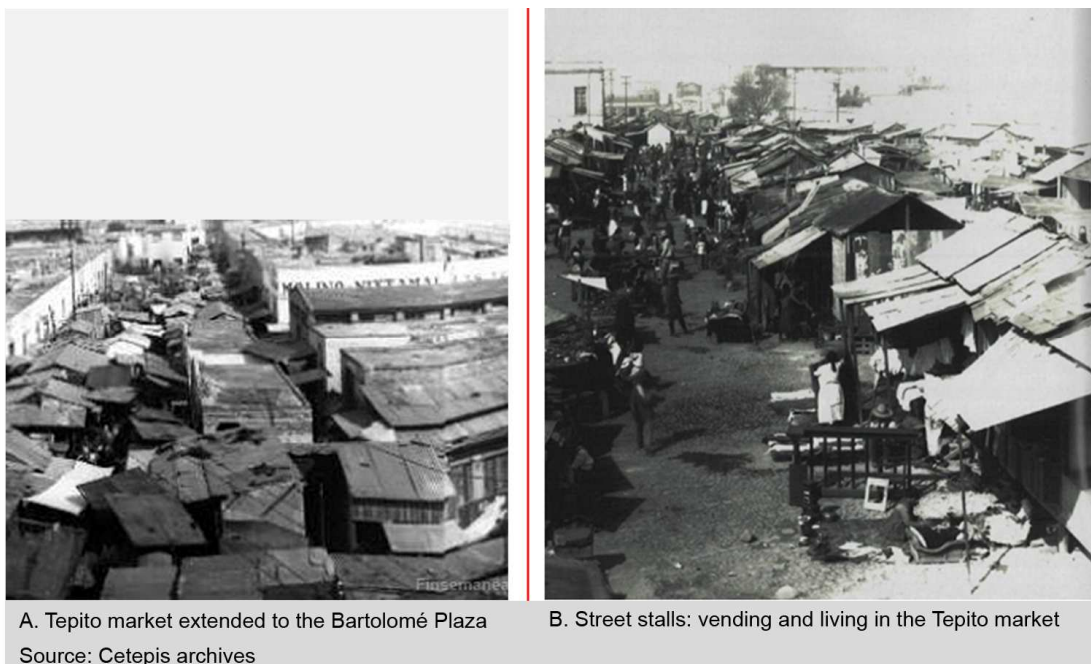


Figure 21 Tepito market extended to the San Bartolomé Plaza

After the Mexican Revolution, the movement of migrants into the city intensified; Tepito became an important port of arrival. In early 20th century, the eastern side of the neighbourhood was urbanised and the street layout was defined as shown in Map 6. In this period, Mexico City already had 1.2 million inhabitants (Rivardière 2011). Migrants

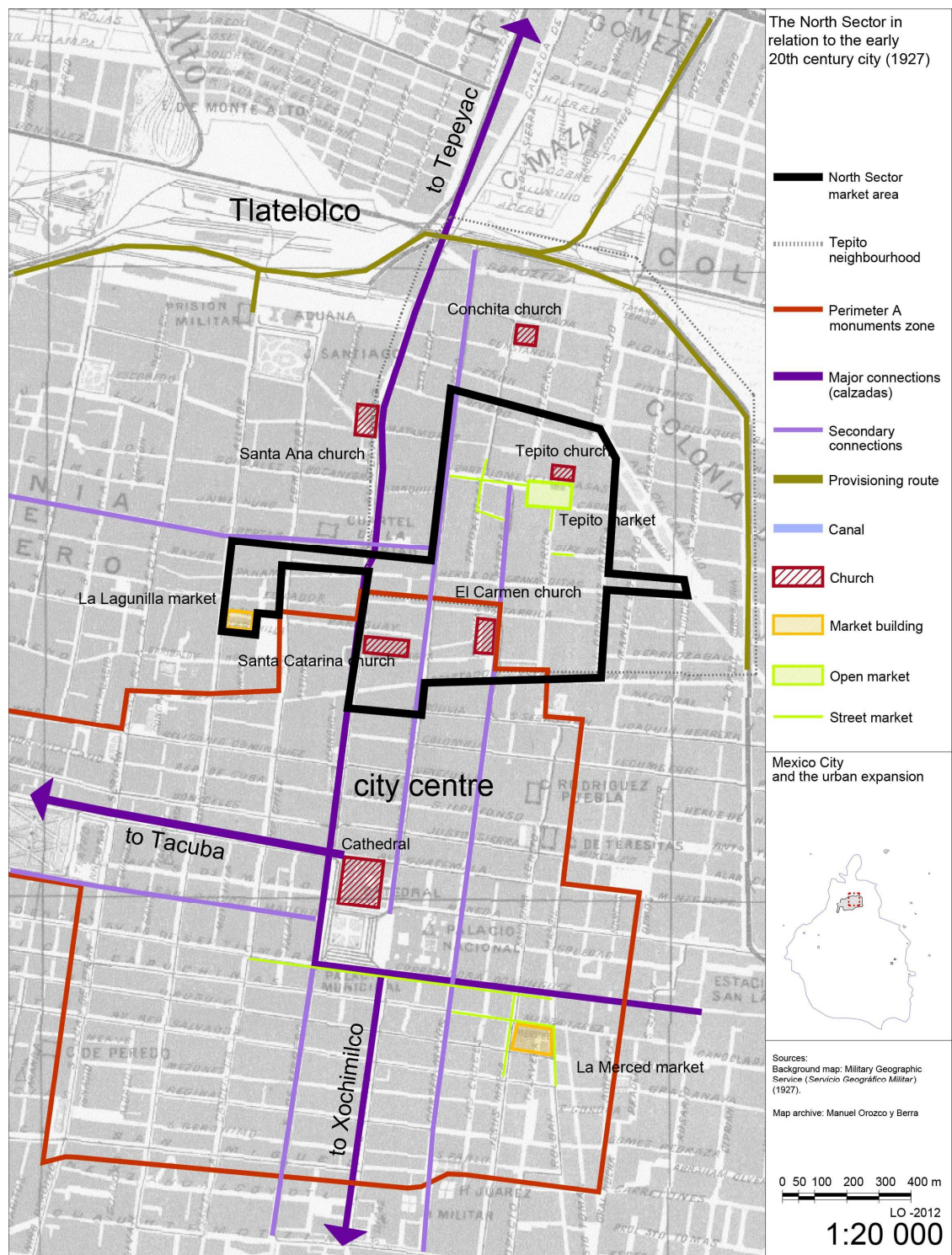
used to live in the wooden stalls on the streets as well as develop economic activities such as repairing shoes and vending second-hand items. The streets had a multi-functional use; people lived, sold goods, played, gathered and fixed objects in open workshops. The attributes of space as a multifunctional, polychronic⁴³ asset were an important resource for the migrants. The neighbourhood started taking the form of a slum.

The owners of large plots in the neighbourhood, most of whom lived in the city centre, started building 'rooms' around a central patio to rent them out at low cost to newcomers. This kind of collective housing was known as *vecindades*. The rooms had an approximate area of 25 m² and a height of 5 m; many of them had a mezzanine. The room was used for multiple functions: living, eating, preparing food, working, etc. They shared some facilities as toilets, places for washing cloths and the central patio, as shown in Figure 22. This typology of housing and the way of living was that of a collective organisation. The fact that almost 85% of the population rented a dwelling in a *vecindad* promoted relationships of equal status among residents. The organisation of rent payment was the responsibility of the tenants themselves; the landlords rarely came to the area. The *vecindad* belonged to all, because at the same time it belonged to no one in particular among the inhabitants (Arregui Solano et al. 1981).



Figure 22 *Vecindades* in Tepito

⁴³ The concept of polychrony was defined in the Theory Chapter, Part 2 Debates on 'social space'.



Map 6 The expansion of the City in 1927

In the 1940s, a community of shoe artisans, many of them from the City of León, Guanajuato⁴⁴, settled in the Tepito neighbourhood and started running shoe making workshops. The local economy flourished as people were searching for any kind of opportunities and all the members of the community actively participated. The skills and creativity of people were at the core of this social and economic system.

The *vecindades* became important nodes for community organisation. They were also important for the local economy. The multiple workshops in the *vecindades* supported the livelihoods of the local families. Many of these workshops were complementary to one another. For example, some cut the leather, others made the insoles and others decorated the shoes. These types of complementary, productive activities contributed to the promotion of values of solidarity and the mutual help among residents. The community was not exempt from conflict, on the contrary; however, members knew they must rely on each other to survive. These values were at the core of the cultural identity of the community organisation (Thomas 1990). This social, economic and cultural dimension is important to understand the kind of space it produced over time.

During the 1860 – 1950 period, three main dynamics were shaping space. One was the organisation of Mexico as a new nation after independence. The second was the expansion and organisation of Mexico City as the capital of the new political and economic organisation. The third was the integration of the Tepito neighbourhood into these broader processes. The integration was particular; Tepito was situated on the periphery of the city, but it was progressively becoming a central location. It was developing a diverse and self-sustained productive economy and developing its own cultural identity. This was the context for the emergence of the Tepito street market as a modern phenomenon.

3.2.3 The Tepito street market (1950 – 1970)

The 1950s represented a rupture in the history of city planning. The emergence of the 'master plans' and the way the nation-states conceived, planned and organised their territory in a strategic way was a radical innovation. This was evident during the reconstruction of European cities after World War II. This spatial strategy reflected the interests of industrialisation, as explained in the theory chapter (Lefebvre 1974).

⁴⁴ The region of Guanajuato is located to the north-centre of the national territory. This region is well known for the production of leather shoes.

Mexico was not the exception within the nations willing to modernise their capital city. Furthermore, Mexico City played an important role in the industrialisation process⁴⁵. In fact, the concentration of production forces and an internal market in the capital city was part of the economic model. Actually, the import substitution model works on the basis of the concentration of productive activities, labour force and consumption market. Mexico City became the centre of manufacturing activities, at the same time it constituted the dominant consumer market. These macroeconomic factors contributed to the expansion of Mexico City and its positioning as the economic and political centre of the nation (Pradilla Cobos, 2008).

‘The period between 1950 and 1980 witnessed an extraordinary economic as well as demographic expansion in Mexico City. By 1970, Mexico City accounted for 48.6% of the nation’s total manufacturing output, with the Mexico City Metropolitan Area’s industrial GDP growing at 11.2%. The Federal District was a leading contributor to the nation’s GDP (27.6% in 1970). In the process, the MCMA became the wealthiest area of Mexico and developed the country’s densest and most advanced infrastructure’ (OECD 2004: p.43).

The details of the demographic and urban expansion are shown in Table 1. The table shows the urban expansion and the fact that the population was increasing rapidly. On the other hand, the economic growth was increasing, especially manufacturing activities, but not at the same ratio. The economic growth even decreased during the decade of 1980. This data can explain the emergence of the informal sector. A huge amount of people, many of them under-qualified, were coming to the city and not finding enough jobs in the manufacturing sector. They started developing new strategies, such as vending in the streets, using their skills to repair or produce something in their houses, inventing new occupations, and opening small family businesses.

⁴⁵ The new import substitution industrialisation model was launched during the Administrations of Presidents M. Aleman (1946 to 1952) and A. Luis Cortínez (1952 to 1958).

Year	City inhabitants (millions)	Annual rate of economic growth	Urban expansion (hectares)	Manufacturing (% of ind. GDP)
1950	2.9	-	26,200	39.14
1960	5.7	4.9	41,600	44.36
1970	9.3	5.2	72,200	48.16
1980	13	3.4	89,100	47.05
Source: National Population Council in Pradilla Cobos (2000) and OECD (2004)				

Table 1 Urban expansion and economic growth from 1950 to 1980

The Tepito neighbourhood offered migrants low-cost housing in the *vecindades*, and, at the same time, economic opportunities in the street market and in the diverse workshops. In the early 1950s the city authorities decided to ‘upgrade slums’ and give these areas a ‘proper’ image. The Tepito community reacted to the plans of the authorities to demolish and reconstruct a housing estate, arguing that the ‘disorganised form’ of their neighbourhood was important to keep their economic productivity linked to their social and spatial relations.

A paradox was generated during this period. The city authorities and the emerging bourgeoisies dreamed of a ‘modern’ city without street vendors. However, street vending and other activities of the informal economy represented a solution for the livelihoods of the urban poor. Street vending was prohibited by law in 1952 and the city authorities firmly repressed this activity in the entire city area.

In Tepito, the wooden stalls were removed and the vendors, most of them residents of the neighbourhood, asked for an alternative solution. The authorities then proposed to construct closed markets to relocate the vendors, as shown in Figure 23. Six markets were constructed in the North Sector; as shown in yellow colour in Map 7.

The markets cover a total of 46,800 m² of commercial area only in the North Sector and are located in three poles: two markets in La Lagunilla market (20,500 m²), one in El Carmen called Granaditas (7,800 m²) and three markets in Tepito (18,500 m²)⁴⁶. The markets became specialised nodes that provisioned the population of the city. These markets were no longer addressed solely to the locals.

⁴⁶ The surfaces were calculated in Autocad using the 2005 cadastre as a reference.



A. La Lagunilla market 1980s (North Sector)
Source: Corbis archives

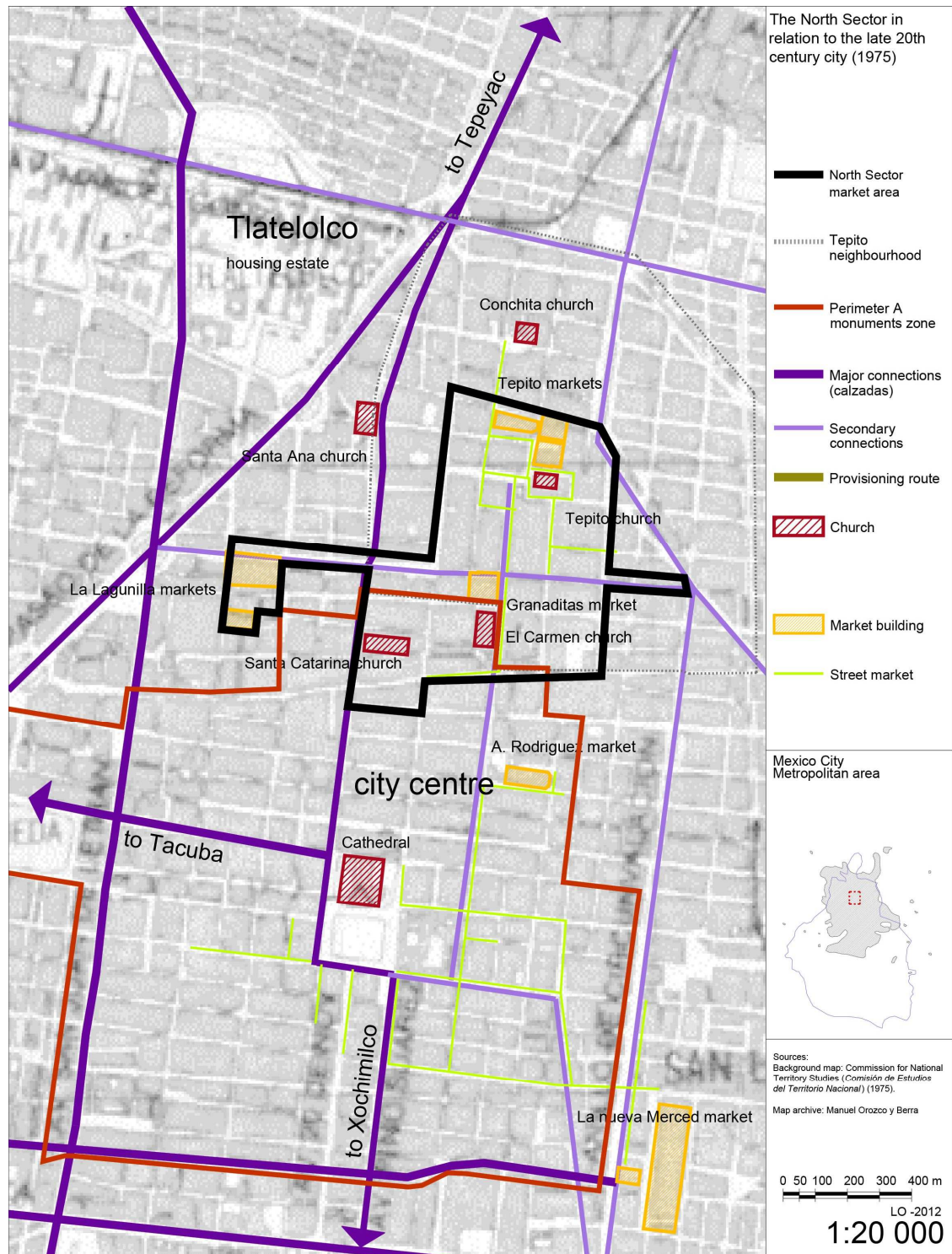


B. La Merced market 1960s

Figure 23 Closed markets built in 1957

Street vendors started placing stalls outside the markets almost immediately after they had opened and remained as part of the commercial structure, as shown in Figure 23-A. In fact, these commercial activities are complementary and the markets indeed attracted more street vendors to the area.

Map 7 shows how the markets changed the configuration of the area and promoted the expansion of street vending. The area starts to acquire a double form as a neighbourhood and as a commercial apparatus.



Map 7 Expansion of street vending after the construction of closed markets

During the period from 1950 to 1970, a double organisation emerged in the Tepito neighbourhood. The area was taking the form of a city-scale marketplace emerging from a slum area. The factor that was contributing the most to transforming the area in this

context was the increase of the commercial value of the land; private plots but also public space.

3.2.4 The *fayuca*⁴⁷ market (1970 - 1990)

The construction of the markets, the metro and the avenues was undoubtedly important for creating the commercial potential of space. But the street market was actually produced by the vendors themselves who were searching for and testing all kinds of entrepreneurial initiatives. This process could be described as 'ants work', meaning that individuals were taking their own initiatives without any preliminary plan or pre-established strategy. Their collective actions started forming a commercial, coherent structure.

Two contemporary and intermingled processes were taking place in the Tepito neighbourhood during the early 70s. On one hand, there was the formation of the *fayuca* market; and on the other, the organisation of the community, vendors and residents to defend Tepito from the demolition plans of the city authorities.

The authorities' plan for the reconstruction, launched in 1971, was called 'Plan Tepito'. The intention of the plan was to demolish the existing *vecindades*, reconfigure the area and built a housing estate. This was disapproved by the local community, they knew that the area was becoming a central location and its value was increasing rapidly. Inhabitants feared, that once they had left the place they wouldn't be able to return. The local community mobilised against the Plan, arguing that the housing estate was not adapted to the social, economic and spatial organisation of the neighbourhood.

Tepito artist Mario Manrique explained that the *vecindades* and the streets in this neighbourhood worked together as a system. They reflected a way of living, a way to survive, and a mentality specific to its place (Manrique 1995).

⁴⁷ *Fayuca* means illegal imported products from the USA; it refers also to branded products that have a defect and thus are sold at cheaper prices in alternative circuits such as street markets. This is a term used mainly in the 1980s, when imports were illegal and difficult to find in the market.

‘There is a positive side of people that emerges from the need to survive, especially when we find ourselves in difficulty because we are evicted from our place and are forced to live in oppressive spaces. When we are expelled or not admitted in formality, we generate a parallel world: the world of informality, improvisation and spontaneity. This is a world of intuitive liberty, inside or aside the world of formalised oppression. As a consequence of this, a wide diversity of employment was generated in this parallel world, which created a continuity and extension of the individual space, the social space. These are the relations: housing-patio-street, housing-patio, patio-workshop-sociability and street-workshop-commerce-sociability; these relations constituted the working-class neighbourhood (*barrio popular* in Spanish) as a hub of social relations’ (Manrique 1995: p.295; translation by LO).



Figure 24 Murals by Mario Manrique, Tepito Arte Acá

The mobilisation of the community to define and defend their habitat reinforced the community’s cultural identity. Many artists were inspired by the ‘urban culture’ of the poor: writer Oscar Lewis⁴⁸; filmmaker Luis Buñuel; and locals Mario Manrique, Armando Ramírez, among others, contributed to give clear form to this identity. A local cultural movement called “Tepito Arte Acá”⁴⁹ emerged, and it is still active in the neighbourhood today. The principle of this movement is that culture is not exclusive to the educated, rich bourgeoisies, but poor have their own culture and can produce art that reflects their own lifestyle. Figure 24 shows an example of the murals painted by the local artists.

⁴⁸ The film *The children of Sanchez* (also a book) promoted a strong image of the Tepito neighbourhood and its particular culture. The director of the film was American anthropologist Oscar Lewis. It was based upon an autobiography of a Mexican family living in Tepito.

⁴⁹ The group was formed in 1974; famous artists from Tepito, such as Mario Manrique, Armando Ramírez and Carlos Plasencia, joined the group.

The fact that this movement emerged reflects to what extent the local culture had a well-defined identity. A cultural identity and the strong sense of belonging helped to bring community members together in this moment of stress, and motivated them to organise in defence of their neighbourhood. At the same time they reinforced their capacity for collective organisation.

To resist the destruction of their habitat, the local community formed an association called 'Commission of the 40'⁵⁰ (Aguilar Urbina 1987). This commission represented both residential and street trading interests during the negotiations with the authorities. The negotiations were blocked until 1978, as the interests were contradictory. The Plan Tepito proposed radical reconstruction, while the inhabitants countered with a proposal for the rehabilitation of the existing urban fabric.

'The [community] organisation is related to the ties of the neighbourhood; work and housing are not separated. In fact, 80% of the local Tepito residents live and work in the neighbourhood. None of the local organisations defend housing alone, but the neighbourhood as 'a working space'. The interest of the local community and organisations is to preserve the local economy' (Alfonso Hernández in Aguilar Urbina 1987:p. 12; translation by LO).

The members of the association, independently, sought the professional assistance of architects and planners at the National University in order to develop an alternative plan for Tepito, one that could reflect the economic and social relations in space. As payment for this plan, local artists created a mural for the faculty of architecture at the university. The plan was sensitive to the community needs and considered rehabilitation of the existing fabric rather than radical transformation⁵¹. This initiative is an example of the capacity of the community to undertake initiatives and of their resilience to cope with the situation.

In 1978, two blocks were demolished by the authorities to implement the plan and two housing estates were reconstructed: 'La Fortaleza' and 'Los Palomares' (Aguilera Urbina 1987), see Figure 25.

⁵⁰ The name is related to the place where the inhabitants gathered; that is *vecindad* No. 40 on Tenochtitlan Street. This *vecindad* was an important reference for the neighbourhood.

⁵¹ This plan is considered the first example of 'neighbour planning' in Mexico and received an internationally-recognized prize in Warsaw due to its innovative vision of upgrading slums.

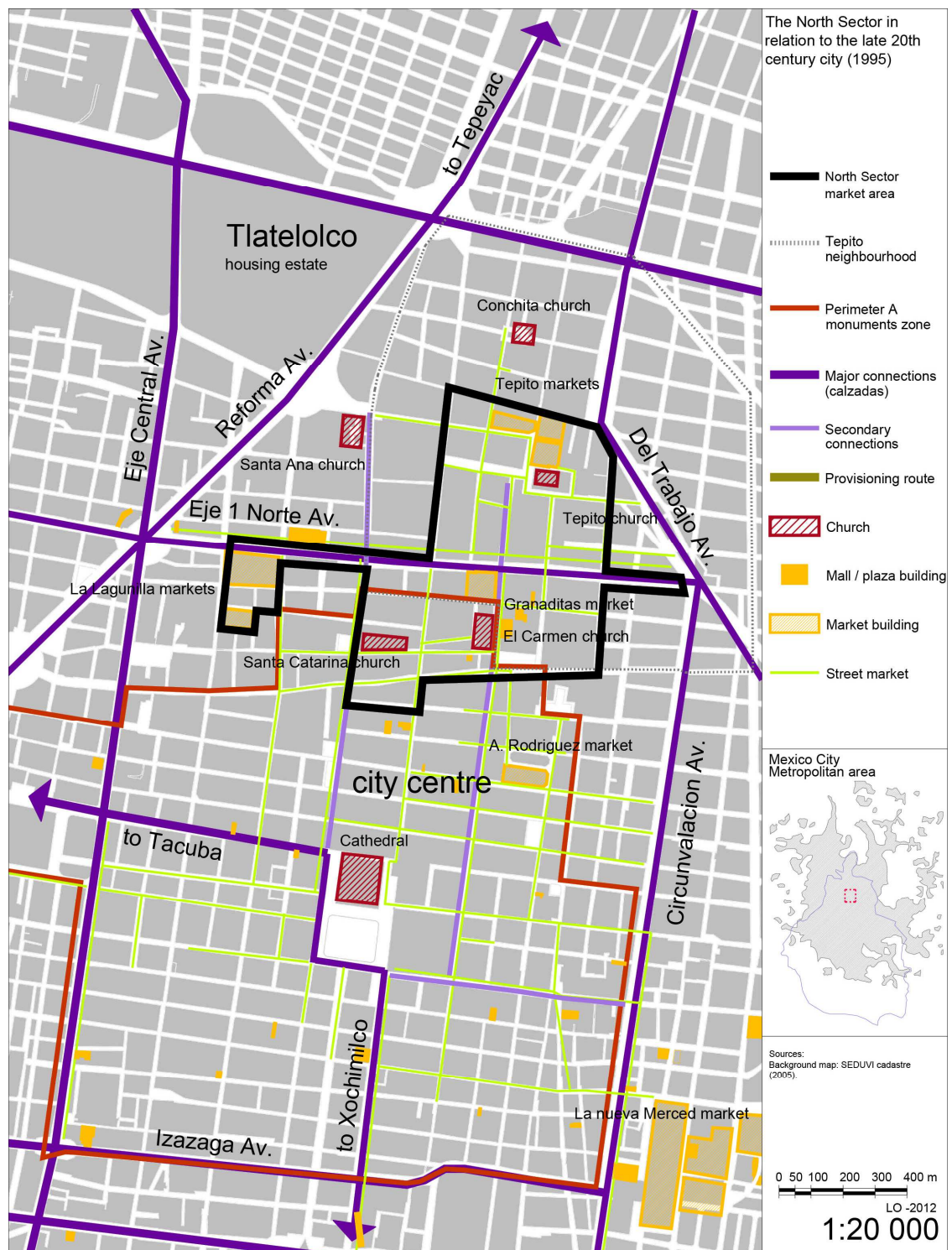


Figure 25 Housing estate in Tepito

The implementation of Plan Tepito was interrupted due to the high costs that it represented in monetary and political terms. The neighbourhood then kept its original layout; the Tepito community had won the battle.

The city as a whole was transformed in the late 70s according to a master plan designed by renowned Architect Mario Pani. A grid comprising major city roads, called '*ejes viales*', was constructed, in addition to the first 4 lines of the metro, and the construction of several housing estates⁵². These major changes taking place at city scale had a direct impact on Tepito. Granaditas Street, which runs across the neighbourhood, was enlarged and transformed into Eje 1 Norte Avenue. The Circunvalación Avenue to the east was also constructed. These avenues gave privileged accessibility to the neighbourhood, especially from west-east and north-south. The metro station Zócalo connected the city centre to the north and south of the city. The city markets were conceived in this general plan and were strategically placed on the main avenues, as shown in Map 8. This reconfiguration of space at the city level had an impact upon the local scale, considerably increasing the commercial potential of the area. As shown in the map, street vending spread rapidly as a consequence of these connection of the area with the metro system and the main avenues with a wider city layout.

⁵² The Nonoalco-Tlatelolco estate was built in the north area, with almost 12,000 apartments in 94 hectares (built from 1957 to 1964).



Map 8 Expansion of street vending in the 1990s

At the same time, the community was organising against eviction, and the Tepito market had an unexpected 'boom' with the introduction of *fayuca*⁵³. The story of how *fayuca* got

⁵³ The smuggled articles included toys, decoration articles, cooking utensils; but afterwards, illegal imports concerned mainly electronics and even guns and other kind of illegal commodities.

to the Tepito market is interesting. In fact, the husband of Manuela, an inhabitant in the Tepito core area, went to the USA to work as an illegal immigrant. She had difficulties to earn enough money to feed her children, so she searched for opportunities to survive and tried several options. Her husband sent her some items from the USA, at that time illegal in Mexico, and she sold them in the second-hand market on CT Street. The success of this initiative was striking and many other traders started imitating her. Vendors would go to the USA and bring in their luggage items that they would sell afterwards in the market. After some time, the vendors organised amongst themselves and were able to bribe officials and border agents so as to get trucks full of *fayuca* into the neighbourhood.

The introduction of the *fayuca* into the Tepito market transformed not only the market but the community itself. Many families became rich overnight. Many families that once had shoe workshops started selling *fayuca*, as it was by far the most profitable activity in the neighbourhood. The people who sold *fayuca*, called '*fayuqueros*', were considered a different group in the neighbourhood. They promoted another kind of value system, a new culture based on money, competition and power. The clash between the artisans' culture and the *fayuca* market was well represented in Armando Ramirez's book *Quinceañera*.

Another radical change in the neighbourhood was the 1985 earthquake. A total of 412 buildings collapsed in the Mexico City centre and 3,124 were damaged, killing approximately 10,000 people and leaving many families homeless, mainly the urban poor (Quarantelli 1993). The government had difficulties in dealing with the situation and the citizens organised among themselves to rescue people and provide them with basic things such as water, food and shelter. Citizens showed an unexpected capacity to act collectively and deal with the situation, revealing an important source of resilience, as shown in Figure 26.

In the Tepito neighbourhood there was no destruction of buildings, but the event made neighbours realise the risk of inhabiting old and damaged structures. As a matter of fact, since 1942, there had been a law in place that fixed the rent prices, which incited the owners to stop investing in the maintenance of the *vecindades*. This caused the progressive decay of the dwellings.



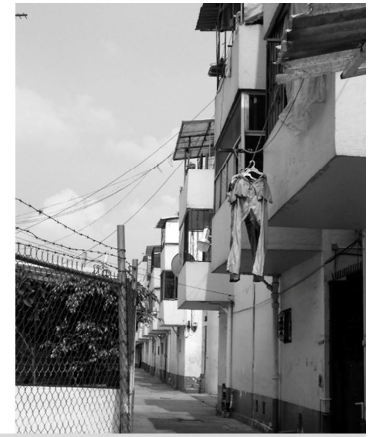
Figure 26 Collective organisation after the 1985 earthquake

After the earthquake, the city government implemented a Housing Renovation Programme in late 1985 and 1986. A total of 46,000 dwellings were reconstructed, especially in the area surrounding the city centre⁵⁴. Tepito was significantly impacted by this programme. In fact, a total of 6,075 dwellings were reconstructed in the neighbourhood (Aguilar Urbina 1987:p.23)⁵⁵. In addition, 2,750 supplementary commercial boutiques were built at street level of the renovation units, to reinforce the commercial activities of the area.

The reconstruction of the neighbourhood after the earthquake gave property rights to the Tepito inhabitants; local residents have won the battle against destruction of their neighbourhood as a livelihood. Paradoxically, it marked the beginning of the dismantlement of the community by the community itself. Residents started moving out of the neighbourhood to rent out their apartments as storage places and the spaces appropriated on the streets to new coming street vendors; renting became a profitable activity. This was an unexpected effect of the plans that recognised the importance of giving land tenure to local residents to secure their livelihoods.

⁵⁴ In Tepito, 3,176 dwellings were expropriated and then 5,553 were constructed in the same plots. In the central area of the city, a total of 44,437 dwellings were expropriated and 45,969 were constructed, Dowall and Perlo 1988.

⁵⁵ The plots were maintained intact, apartments of 50 m² were constructed in 3 storey buildings around a central patio. Apartments have water and toilets on the inside and were organised in mono-functional spaces: kitchen, bedrooms and a living room. The central patio is the only shared space, but it has lost its diversity of uses.



'Renovation unit' constructed in Tepito (before *vecindad* Casa Blanca)
Source: LO 2011

Figure 27 Example of a 'renovation unit'

The reconstruction of the *vecindades* in Tepito was done successfully in less than two years⁵⁶. This can be explained because the local community was already organised and they had already established relations with the universities, acquired a detailed renovation plan⁵⁷ and established relations with city authorities during the negotiations of Plan Tepito. This capacity of recovering from the disaster and reconstructing the neighbourhood reflects the resilience of the Tepito community.

'After the earthquake of 19 September, 1985, the political power officially abandoned the project for the bulldozer-renovation of the working-class neighbourhoods of Guerrero and Morelos including Tepito, which, in fact, had been previously blocked due to a lack of financial resources and disinterest of the private investors. It must be noticed that popular movements were supported by academics, intellectuals, artists, and financially by the economic success of the street market. Paradoxically, this organisational achievement provoked a social and cultural disintegration that even powerful authorities hadn't achieved (i.e. Uruchurtu or Hank Gonzalez)' (Thomas 2005:p.335; translation by LO).

Reconstruction brought a major change regarding property relations. In fact, most inhabitants became owners of their dwellings. Tenants diminished from 80% to 25% in

⁵⁶ Before reconstruction, most plots belonged to owners living in the city centre. The plots were expropriated by the city authorities; the *vecindades* were demolished and new dwellings known as 'renovation units' were constructed. The reconstruction of the *vecindades* was managed by the residents themselves through recognised committees. Families were relocated within the same plot.

⁵⁷ Two actions from the universities were relevant, the reconstruction of the 13 *vecindades* by the Autonomous University of Mexico (UAM) (Aguilar Urbina 1987) and the plan proposed by architecture students from the National University (UNAM) in 1982.

the period from 1986-1987, according to Aguilar Urbina's research (1987). Hence, collective property and collective lifestyles were at the core of the formation of a resilient community. As the community improved their living conditions, it became more individualistic, less dependent on 'others' and, therefore, people started changing their relation to space.

After acquiring property rights, the tendency was to move out to other neighbourhoods and rent or sell the dwellings. The street market was expanding and the value of storage places and vending places on the streets was increasing. At the same time, quality of life in the neighbourhood was decreasing due to the noise, garbage and movements provoked by the market. The people and families that had businesses in the neighbourhood stayed, as well as people who had no option. But many inhabitants were becoming wealthy due to the market and had the possibility to buy a house in a middle class neighbourhood⁵⁸.

The Tepito community argued in the 1970s that streets and *vecindades* worked together as a survival asset and could not be separated. When the houses were reconstructed after the earthquake and the residents became owners of their dwellings, a kind of opportunistic idea was forged within the community: the thought that residents were also legitimate 'owners' of the sitting places on the streets. The argument was that streets and houses worked together as a system of survival for the local community. This was true for the slum where people had nothing and were effectively surviving. But this was not the case in the emerging organisation of space, where locals were trying to appropriate assets to rent out and make money. Actually, the people from Tepito authentically thought that the neighbourhood belonged to them, either for survival or for exploitation.

In fact, making money out of the neighbourhood was a good business for locals, as Alfonso Hernández Director of the Centre for Tepito Studies (CETEPIS) explained:

⁵⁸ The Housing Reconstruction Programme didn't consider the demand for middle class housing in the Tepito area. This might be a factor why residents that were making money started to move out, but they were doing so also because of the stigma of the neighbourhood. In an interview, Carlos explained to me that in the local culture to be able to 'get out of poverty' is a sign of individual success and a source of respect.

'You can earn 5,000 MXN [250 GBP] per week storing 50 metal stalls; earnings are even bigger if you store goods. On Florida or Aztecas Streets, a storage room of 30 m² can cost 500,000 MXN [25,000 GBP], a place to sell on the street can cost 200,000 MXN [10,000 GBP]. So it is better to transform dwellings into storage places and buy a house in a middle class neighbourhood such as Pedregal, Villa Coapa, Satélite, Lindavista or Jardín Balbuena. It is easier to move out with the family than to transport goods every day' (Tomas 2005; translation LO, prices updated to 2014 on the basis of 20 MXP=1 GBP).

Many locals tried to appropriate a place on the streets to rent both the dwelling as a storage and vending place; this was a strategy to add monetary value to their property. Two processes were influencing this behaviour. One was the rapid increase of land value related to the market activities, especially the *fayuca*. The other was taking advantage of the political instability that was created in the aftermath of the earthquake. Tepito had shown its capacity to mobilise and the government was in a bad position to challenge them.

In fact, the way the central government dealt with the crises showed evidence that Mexico City, needed a local government to look after the interests of the population. The actions and priorities of the government were questioned, motivating citizens to mobilise and challenge the political organisation and agenda of the city (Davis 2005)⁵⁹. During this instability the government tolerated the street market expansion, as the priority was to prevent mobilisations that worsened the already deteriorated image of the PRI.

The Camacho Solís administration (1988-1993), one of the last administrations from the PRI, and the first administration of the PRD, namely Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas's (1997-2002), the first democratic election, were important in order to understand the consolidation of the street market in the North Sector. This will be detailed in Chapter 4.

As the street market extended to unprecedented limits after the earthquake, the city government was criticised for having no control of the situation. In reaction, the PRI

⁵⁹ Actually, the way the federal government acted during the crisis raised citizens' anger and promoted several social movements. In the aftermath of the earthquake, the government prioritised the recovery of the national economy, the re-establishment of telecommunications, and provided special support to manufacturing factories owners to recover machinery from the debris rather than the bodies of the workers. The images of the disaster broadcast on television shocked the population as they evidenced the terrible working conditions in which women worked at the manufacturing industries in the city centre. This situation gave rise to the organisation of important social movements which claimed that the urban poor had city rights, mainly in relation to housing and employment. The left-wing political party, the PRD, was becoming popular and represented an important competitor to the ruling party, the PRI. The political crisis that ensued after the earthquake forced the city government to change radically and to be more focused on social needs in order to recover political legitimacy (Davis 2005).

administration tried to forge an image of a 'can do' political power by cleaning out the streets as a political strategy (John Cross 1988). To move them out, the city government negotiated with the vendors, already representing powerful organisations, by offering some plots to relocate the vendors and renegotiate the territories. This kind of exchange between the city authorities and the vendors empowered the unions and contributed to the addition of more commercial spaces to the market organisation.

A total of 27 malls called '*plazas*' were constructed in 1993 in the city centre area to relocate the street vendors. These malls evolved in different ways, but it was clear that only a few street vendors were prepared to evolve into closed-market traders, and most of them returned to the streets (Stamm 2005). However, the *plazas* were used as storage spaces, and they also offered complementary services such as internet, toilets, food, etc. These additional structures complemented the commercial activities of the street market and added robustness to the commercial system.

Map 8, as already said, shows the rapid expansion of the street market activities during this period in the city centre and in the North Sector, the *plazas* constructed to unsuccessfully relocate the vendors in 1993 and the consolidation of the commercial system in Tepito, including the storefronts constructed during the implementation of the Housing Renovation Programme.



Figure 28 *Plazas* constructed under the 1993 Street Vendors Relocation Programme

The Tepito vendors refused to be relocated or removed from the streets. To resist against pressure from the government, they formed an association called 'Confederación de Comerciantes de Tepito' (Tepito Traders Confederation). In 1990, a total of 41 unions joined; in 2013, there were a total of 62 vendors associations (Tomas 1990, Cetepis

archives 2012)⁶⁰. It was because of this powerful organisation that the North Sector street market area was consolidated. This is evidence that, up to this point, the street market was not only resilient, but was already a powerful organisation in political and spatial terms.

The success of the street market was beneficial to traders, entrepreneurs, clients, and many others, but not to the neighbourhood itself, which was starting to disintegrate. The expansion of the market reached a point where it created serious problems for the residents. People were not able to walk on the streets, let alone play or organise a festival as before. Prices in local shops increased, meaning locals had to do their daily shopping outside the neighbourhood. But the major problem was that the market covered up illegal activities such as the distribution of hard drugs and guns in the area. Violence in the neighbourhood increased in the 90s and for this reason, many people, most of them middle classes, moved out of the area. Tepito lost 8,600 inhabitants during the period from 1950 to 1990.

In this period, the community clearly split in two: the groups that tried to preserve the social and cultural life of Tepito, namely Tepito Arte Acá, and the groups that were involved with and supported the street market, namely the Centre for Tepito Studies, CETEPIS.

The period from 1970 to 1990 was decisive for the production of the market. The organisational capacities of the local community were strengthened while trying to defend the neighbourhood from reconstruction. The street market and the *vecindades* were defended simultaneously as essential supports for the local culture. The creative initiatives of the local people brought the *fayuca* to the market, which in time became the most profitable activity in the area and quickly spread throughout. The 1985 earthquake and the political tensions that it created were taken, by the already powerful local unions, as an advantage to reconstruct the neighbourhood, obtain property rights for the dwellings and appropriate the streets for the benefit of the expansion of the market. These events marked the tipping point in which the neighbourhood and its market, after being a support system for the livelihoods of the poor, became a valuable money-making asset, out of which the locals were willing to get the most.

⁶⁰ Street vending in the city centre core area was organised in a different way and evolved in another direction. In the city centre core area there were only 14 leaders that controlled a high number of street vendors. For example, in 1989 there were 7,212 street traders in this area. In the North Sector, the organisation was more decentralised; 40 organisations for a total of 8,905 street traders (CETEPIS archives).

3.2.5 Tepito as a global street market (1994 - 2010)

The liberalisation of the national economy in 1994 forced the Tepito market to search for a new commercial strategy⁶¹. The *fayuca* was a good business during the protectionist model, but after the markets were opened, it became necessary to find new opportunities. Asian imports became the ideal business. Produced massively at very low prices, they were distributed in Tepito directly by Korean and Chinese importers. Asian imports use dumping⁶² techniques to introduce goods to the national territory; as a result, prices for Asian products are incredibly low (Alba et al. 2007).

Asian nationals started running businesses in the area, and local entrepreneurs travelled to China to establish business opportunities between Tepito and other Chinese markets. The profile of street vendors has changed; some are now qualified entrepreneurs, in search of innovative opportunities and ready to take risks to increase their profit.

Asian importers settled in Tepito as it was already an important commercial node, especially for the urban poor. Indeed, the market had developed connections between different distribution networks in the metropolitan and national territory. Retailers were coming from distant regions to buy their stock in Tepito. Its central location in the metropolitan area also represented a key advantage.

At a macro-economic level, the liberalisation of the economy brought important changes to the nation. It also redefined the role that Mexico City played in the new economic model⁶³. Industrialisation in Mexico only took place to a certain extent. Mexico City, the most important manufacturing centre in the 70s and 80s, lost this role and shifted its economy to the tertiary sector⁶⁴. As it became a global city, it developed businesses and

⁶¹ The process of industrialisation by import substitution launched in the 1950s ended with an economic crisis in 1982. The economic model shifted to liberalisation in 1994 when the North America Free Trade Agreement was signed. This shift had important consequences for the MCMA industry: firms were poorly prepared for international competition. The labour market was under-qualified to confront the new international challenges.

⁶² Dumping refers to the import of goods by manufacturers at lower prices, creating disloyal competition with local producers. Asian importers use a technique that consists in triangulating imports to avoid controls, taxes and legal procedures. For example, it might be easier to import goods from U.S.A than directly from China.

⁶³ A process of deindustrialisation was observed since the mid 1980s. In fact, from 1980 to 1988, the participation rate of the MCMA in national industries shrank at an annual rate of -5.8%, falling from 47.3% to 34.4%. In the year 1989, only 145 of the Top 500 enterprises performed operations in the MCMA (OECD 2004:p.43).

⁶⁴ Foreign investment in the *maquiladora* industry was localised in the areas near the US border. In this period the productive role of the Mexico City Metropolitan Area had diminished; share of GDP decreased from 27.6% in 1970 to 21.2% in 2000. Deregulation of imports and exports attracted significant foreign investment and a number

specialised services for the firms to carry out international operations in Mexico and Latin America⁶⁵. Mexico City and its metropolitan area are considered level 'alpha'; it manages firms' operations in the region and connects their operations to the global economy⁶⁶.

'The MCMA region is frequently classified as a global city, offering high level services and attracting significant amounts of foreign direct investment. The World Cities Study Group and Network (GaWC) ranked it 21st among all world cities in 2000; providing 12% in terms of the level of service provision and relative to the top-scoring city, close to Brussels, Madrid and Sao Paulo.' (OECD 2004:p.34).

Along with this process, the informal economy was developing quickly as an alternative to the problem of unemployment⁶⁷. In fact, the 'World Class' economy was difficult to access, especially for unqualified workers who represented most of the population in the city⁶⁸.

of foreign firms to the country. On average, 60% of total foreign direct investment flowing into Mexico was concentrated in the MCMA.

⁶⁵ In 1998, the MCMA was becoming a global city, increasing its attractiveness for national and foreign firms. In fact, 250 of the Top 500 enterprises had offices in the MCMA. In the year 2000, the number rose to 340 (OECD, 2004:p.46). Mexico City offers high value services such as finance, accountancy, telecommunications, advertising, distribution and other outsourcing services for international firms.

⁶⁶ Source: Globalization and World Cities, 2008 in Rivardière 2011.

⁶⁷ The informal sector represents 25% of the total employment in Mexico City (2007 INEGI). However, if other indicators are taken into account, for example registration in the social security system (IMSS), the percentage increases to 60% (Pradilla Cobos 2008).

⁶⁸ The MCMA is characterised by a concentration of the urban poor population. In Mexico City the level of extreme poverty is over 25% with a further 25% moderately poor (Boltvinik, 2002 quoted in OECD 2004:p.52). Total poor population corresponds to 64% (Pradilla Cobos 2008). The evolution of the MCMA into a global region reinforces the polarisation of the city in terms of income levels and access to city services.

'The formal sector appears to be unable to absorb workers displaced from declining sectors; in the absence of unemployment insurance, these workers move into the informal sector which works like a buffer. This leads to a very high employment rate but masks inefficiencies of the formal labour market. It is estimated that around one-third of all employment is informal. And if informal labour is considered in a wider sense to include people employed by enterprises or households, but having no work contract and no payment, the figure rises to almost half of the total employment' (OECD 2004: p.50).

Table 2 shows the increase in population of the MCMA, which expanded from 13 million to 20 million in five decades, and the simultaneous rapid decline of the manufacturing industry in this area. This lead to a high rate of unemployment absorbed mainly by the informal sector. The rapid expansion of street vending in the metropolitan area can be explained as a result of these demographic and economic processes.

Year	Inhabitants (millions)	Rate of growth	Urban expansion (hectares)	Manufacturing (MCMA % of Nat industrial GDP)
1980	13	3.4	89,100	47.05
1990	15.6	1.9	129,502	34.74
1990	15.6	1.9	129,502	30
1995	17.3	1.9	-	30
2000	18.4	1.4	170,000	29
2005	20	-	-	-
Source: National Population Council; quoted in Pradilla Cobos (2000) and OECD (2004)				

Table 2 Urban expansion and economic growth from 1980 to 2005

The liberalisation of the economy has promoted the development of the third sector, mostly at the micro level and ran by families in the informal economy⁶⁹. In fact, business activities operating on the streets represent 55% to 64% of trade businesses in Mexico City (Alba et al. 2007).

‘Thus, contrary to [the Mexican] government expectations, instead of propelling job creation in medium and large firms, opening up and liberalisation policies in the last two decades have generated a stunning boom of urban micro-firms, particularly in the third sector’ (Alba Vega and Labazée, in Koonings et al. 2007; translation by LO).

In this context, Tepito became a commercial hub that supported this parallel economy in two ways. One was by connecting Asian supply chains to retail distributors, mainly street vendors selling their goods at transport nodes and at smaller markets on the periphery of the metropolitan area⁷⁰ and other regions of the national territory. The other was by distributing the commodities produced in family-business operating in the informal economy.

⁶⁹ From 1990 to 2004 an increase of almost 5% of micro-enterprises (companies with less than 5 workers) was registered, creating 2.4 million extra jobs. The percentage of micro-enterprises represented already the 40% in 1990, and the 45% in 1994. By 2002, the percentage had increased to 53%. These micro-firms were classified in four major sectors: catering, garment, housing and transportation industries (Alba Vega and Labazée 2007).

⁷⁰ Other important street markets emerged in other parts of the metropolitan area. The way these markets are connected to the Tepito market and the different roles that they play in the distribution of commodities has not been researched.

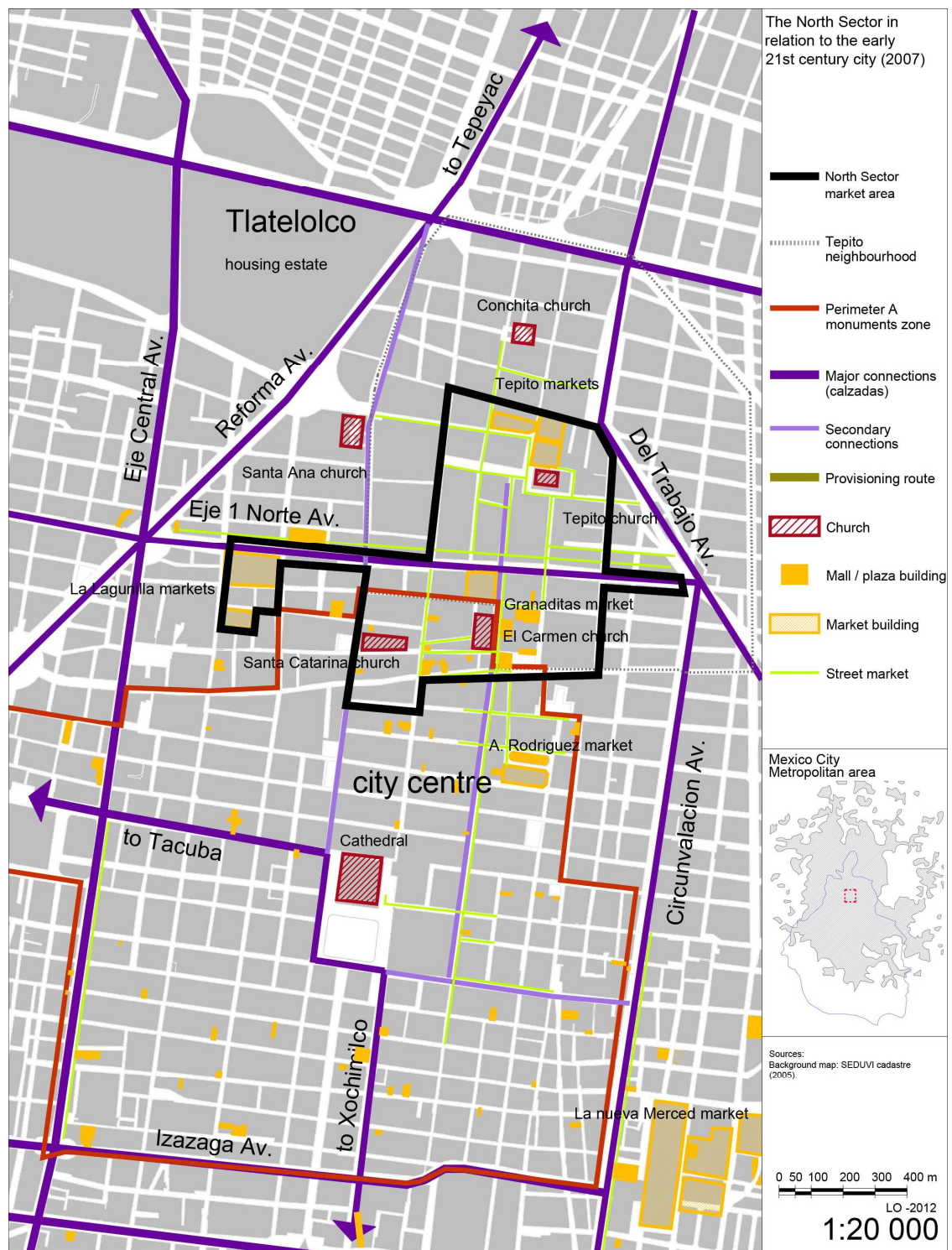
The production of a World Class City had an impact in the city centre core area. City mayor López Obrador launched an ambitious project in 2005 to renovate the area, especially 'Perimeter A', which corresponds to the UNESCO Heritage Site⁷¹. Since 1993 street vending has been prohibited in this specific area, so 17,000 street vendors were evicted from the area in 2007⁷². Authorities cleaned a total of 87 streets and 192 blocks of vendors. A new relocation programme similar to that of 1993 was launched. A total of 47 *plazas* were constructed in the core area and the North Sector. Some of the evicted vendors found a vending place in the North Sector; others searched for opportunities in other areas such as the nearby metro stations.

New institutions and planning tools were created to implement the city centre management plan. However, the North Sector was not considered in the area affected by the master plan even though a part of it is in 'Perimeter A'. This shows to what extent the Tepito market has political control of its territory.

The construction of the *plazas* under the 2007 relocation programme impacted the southern portion of the North Sector, as shown in Map 9. Street vending was eliminated from the city centre core area with the exception of major corridors that connect Tepito, such as Moneda–Correo Major–El Carmen Streets. As mentioned in the presentation of the case study, in these streets vending takes a less permanent form. This map shows that the commercial form dominates the organisation of the North Sector, almost all the streets in this area are used as commercial corridors.

⁷¹ A total of 100,000 m² of public space were renovated during the period from 2002 to 2006, and 150,000 m² during the period from 2007 to 2010. This represents 50% of the streets in 'Perimeter A'. In addition, a total of 27 squares and open spaces were rehabilitated (Autoridad del Centro Histórico 2011). The objective of this project was to develop tourism and cultural activities and to create commercial opportunities for luxury shops. Several institutions were created to implement the project, such as the City Centre Trust. Strategic alliances were created between the politicians, investors and local stakeholders to carry out the project. The renovations attracted many investors like hotels group (Sheraton), international cultural centres (Centro Cultural España) and national firms such as Grupo Hérdez.

⁷² The Cuauhtémoc Borough estimates that 17,000 vendors were evicted; Rivardière (2011), a total of 10,000; while Pradilla Cobos (2008), 15,000.



Map 9 Commercial form of the City Centre and North Sector in 2007

After the liberalisation of the national economy, the Tepito market became a 'World Informal Market', a mix between a top-down and a bottom-up organisation highly connected to the global economy; that is, a global node that organises the distribution of Asian imports and the local production within the metropolitan area and to some regions

of the national territory. As discussed in the theoretical debates, the reorganisation of the global economy has an impact upon space. The networks that emerge result from complementary economic functions taking place in different locations. Tepito is no longer a centrality in the expanding city; it is part of a global network. The impact this condition has at the local level is reflected in the fierce clashes, adaptations and reconfigurations occurring amongst conflict.

The historical review shows that a multiplicity of processes influenced the progressive consolidation of a powerful street market and the production of space as a commercial apparatus. These processes took place at the macro, city and local scales and across different dimensions: economic, political, social and spatial. In addition, it is relevant to highlight the following factors: firstly, the role the Tepito neighbourhood and its market played in relation to the expansion of the city, its modernisation and its integration to the global economy; secondly, the politics of the city in relation to the way street vending was conceived and addressed, and how this unwillingly enhanced the political abilities and power of the vendors; thirdly, the story of the Tepito neighbourhood, including the way the community defended its habitat by showing resilience and developing their capacities for organisation/mobilisation, and how these capacities were transferred to the street market and later used to make a business of their own neighbourhood.

This analysis also shows the relevance of looking at the evolution of the street vendors' capacity and their resilience to turn a situation to their advantage, even in the case of unfavourable situations and disasters. As shown in the case, the evolution of the street vendors reached a point in which they mobilised, not to defend their livelihoods and survive, but to exploit space and make money. This supports the idea that new capacities may emerge from successful trauma recovery, as suggested by Tisseron (2007) from the studies of resilience in individuals. Furthermore, the strengthened capacities of the vendors and the structures they formed in space may challenge the relational system to which they belong and promote the emergence of a new order, as suggested by Saskia Sassen (2006). In this case study, the relational system refers to the neighbourhood, a community organisation which tends to become a commercial-driven system.

From this general overview of the process, I chose some objects of analysis to explore in-depth specific aspects that seem particularly relevant to understand the production of space. In the next part I give details of these analyses and explain how they are related to the hypothesis defined in Chapter 2.

3.3 Case specific analyses

I did 9 specific analyses to explore the three hypotheses of the thesis. The specific analyses were applied to different objects of study, i.e. public policies, evolution of vendors' unions, street management structures, profiles of the vendors using the streets, organisation of the neighbourhood from a commercial and social perspective, functioning of a street stall and its connection to different distribution networks, etc.. The understanding of the different 'objects of study' gives important insights of how space is produced by the commercial system at different scales and from different dimensions. The hypotheses were formulated in the theoretical chapter, but the definition of the specific analyses was defined after the general revision of the case study and a preliminary field work in the Tepito neighbourhood. During these two first stages, I identified the factors that seemed relevant to explain the production of space from an empirical perspective.

The different analyses are organised in three main themes corresponding to chapters 4, 5 and 6. The themes are not independent from each other, they are sub-processes that explain to a certain extent the general process of production of space; they were structured from the hypothesis formulated in the theory chapter.

In the following paragraphs I give details of the specific analyses corresponding to each of the themes and give details of how they contribute to explain the production of space as a multi-scalar and multi-dimensional process.

3.3.1 Theme 1 – Growing empowerment

This theme explores how the street vending system becomes a powerful commercial system able to get control of the streets. Three aspects are observed, one is the role played by the authorities over time. The second is the progressive organisation of the vendors in unions and the development of negotiation and management capacities. The third is related to the integration of co-management structures which is an important source of resilience of the commercial system allowing the system to adapt while keeping control of the streets.

Figure 29 shows how the specific analyses of the case and how they support the general findings of the research.

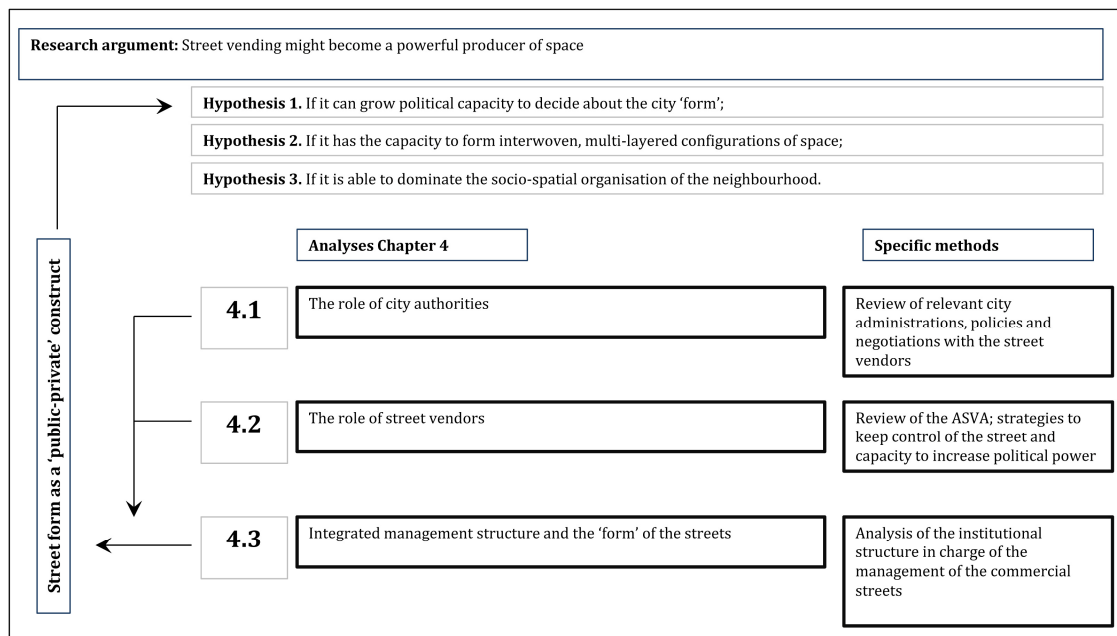


Figure 29 Analyses corresponding to Theme 1

Analysis 4.1 concerns the position of the city authorities; the interests of the upper classes and of the authorities to 'modernise' space by clearing the streets of vendors, and the ramifications that this produces. Analysis 4.2 tells the story of the ASVA during the different stages of the Aztecas Street market, the difficulties during repression and the way they mobilised and negotiated with the authorities to keep selling and to consolidate the market. This analysis gives important insights into the way street vendors increased their political power and the role that the unions and the authorities played. The third analysis, 4.3, looks at the institutional structure, formed by vendors and authorities, in charge of the management of the streets. This analysis supports the idea that the way the structure is formed, the actors involved, the role these actors played, and the level of decision-making they have maintained is responsible for the kind of space that is produced and reproduced.

Method analysis 4.1: The role of city authorities

This analysis makes a review of three relevant city administrations. I revisit the E. Uruchurtu city administration (1952-1966) and focus particularly on the regulation of street vending, the construction of closed markets and the organisation of street vendors into civil associations affiliated with the PRI. The second is the M. Camacho government (1988-1993), which is relevant to understand the negotiation with the leaders of the vendors and the empowerment of the unions. The third, and last, are the A. López (2000-

2006) and M. Ebrard (2007-2012) regimes and their political strategies to renovate the city centre and set a planning structure for the area.

The review is based on John Cross's book *Informal politics* (John Cross 1988) pertaining to the first two administrations. The book is a reference of street vending literature, especially in regards to the relation between the street vendors and the city government. For the last administration, updated information was available in Silvia Lodoño (2011) and in the city centre 2011-2016 master plan, published by the city authorities (Autoridad del Centro Histórico 2011), and in Garza (2011).

Method analysis 4.2: The role of street vendors

A historical review of the ASVA was done to explore the way vendors had negotiated with the authorities and consolidated the market. The leaders of ASVA are 'natural leaders', they emerged spontaneously during the repression of street vending in the 1960s and have persisted over time. The group's permanence on the streets shows the resilience of the group and its capacity to adapt and increase power; these reasons make this union a suitable case to explore how they were able to achieve this. The union is one of the smallest in the area; it has approximately 300 members, some of them (around 20%) have been members for more than 30 years. For the data collection, I conducted two in-depth interviews with the ASVA leaders. The first interview was held on 02/12/2010 and the second on 29/01/2012.

Special attention was given to the different stages of the group's organisation. I asked the leaders to explain how the group reacted in the cases of eviction or during periods of political change. I also researched their strategies for securing the street from the interference of other vendors and the progressive consolidation of the street as a permanent structure.

Method analysis 4.3: The streets' co-management structure

The streets' management structure regards the institutions involved in the decision of the uses of the streets, including the street vendors' leaders, the real authorities at street level. Data of the institutions involved was collected through interviews with the officials in charge. Interviews were based on three aspects: the intention of creating the institution, the tasks it is in charge of and its territorial jurisdiction. In general, I had no problems in obtaining the information, with the exception of the Cuauhtémoc borough

Markets Office. The interview was refused several times presumably because the office didn't want to engage in any conversation about their relation to the street vendors.

I was, however, able to talk with the person in charge of the Public Information Office at the Cuauhtémoc borough. During the interview, he avoided questions, especially those pertaining to the relationship between the Borough and the vendors' leaders. According to Mexican legislation, government offices cannot refuse an interview, or information, to any citizen in the city. But there is a significant difference between the regulations and the actual practice. To cover this gap Alfonso Hernández, in charge of the office in the Cuauhtémoc borough from 1988 to 1993, kindly shared the street vending archives with me. In fact, he had retrieved the archives from this period, which often disappear with every subsequent administration.

The city officials and experts interviewed are:

M. Aguirre – Information Office at Undersecretariat of Special Programmes for Boroughs (08/11/2010); A. Parras – Street Vendors Relocation Programme at Undersecretariat of Special Programmes for Boroughs (10/11/2010); A. Camacho – Information Office at Cuauhtémoc borough (12/11/2010); V. Flores Arias – Director of the City Centre Trust (15/11/2010); Prof. R. Eibenshultz – expert on the topic at the Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM-Azcapotzalco) (18/11/2010); A. Martínez – Coordinator of the Renovation Programme for Neighbourhoods of the Secretariat of Social Development (22/11/2010); Prof. R. Coulomb – expert on the topic at the Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM-Azcapotzalco) (23/11/2010); I. Infante – Coordinator of the Master Plan for the City Centre at the Authority of the City Centre (15/12/2010); and A. García Lara – Director of the Housing Institute (INVI), in charge of the Reconstruction Programme after the 1985 earthquake (29/12/2010).

Information about the role of leaders in relation to the street management practices was obtained from the ASVA leaders. The associations are organised in different ways, as they have autonomy, there might be differences with other leaderships in the area. However, information about this group is useful to understand the manoeuvrability that unions possess in connection to the streets and how they coordinate decisions with formal institutions.

The information obtained from the analyses supports the idea that city authorities share the responsibility of the streets' management with the street vendors. The integration of the leaders into the formal planning system is an important source of resilience for both

the authorities and the street vendors, as suggested by the literature (Folke et al. 2003). Nevertheless, the resilience of the structure favours the street vending system, which can adapt to different circumstances while protecting the monetary interest of the street market. The relation between the vendors and the authorities and the institutionalised management structure may explain the mechanism that the vendors use to ensure the control of the commercial activities on the streets.

3.3.2 Theme 2 – Enhancing commercial efficiency

The theme suggests to look at the 'spatial product' generated by the commercial system as a consequence of political empowerment and control of space. In fact, markets require certain properties of space to function as nodes attracting clients from distant locations and connect to a diversity of distribution networks. A marketplace is not a fixed structure, it evolves over time and depending on the abilities of vendors it might tend to configure the area to increase its commercial efficiency.

Through the specific analyses I look at the spatial organisation of the market at three different scales, this kind of decentralised and multi-scalar arrangement is part of the strength and resilience of the market as a socio-spatial system. This structured organisation of space can explain the street trading ability to produce space, i.e. transform the neighbourhood into a commercial asset. To look at this organisation is also relevant to understand space as a value for different groups of vendors.

Three specific analyses are conducted to explore the market as a spatial and social organisation. Figure 30 shows the analyses regarding the general argument.

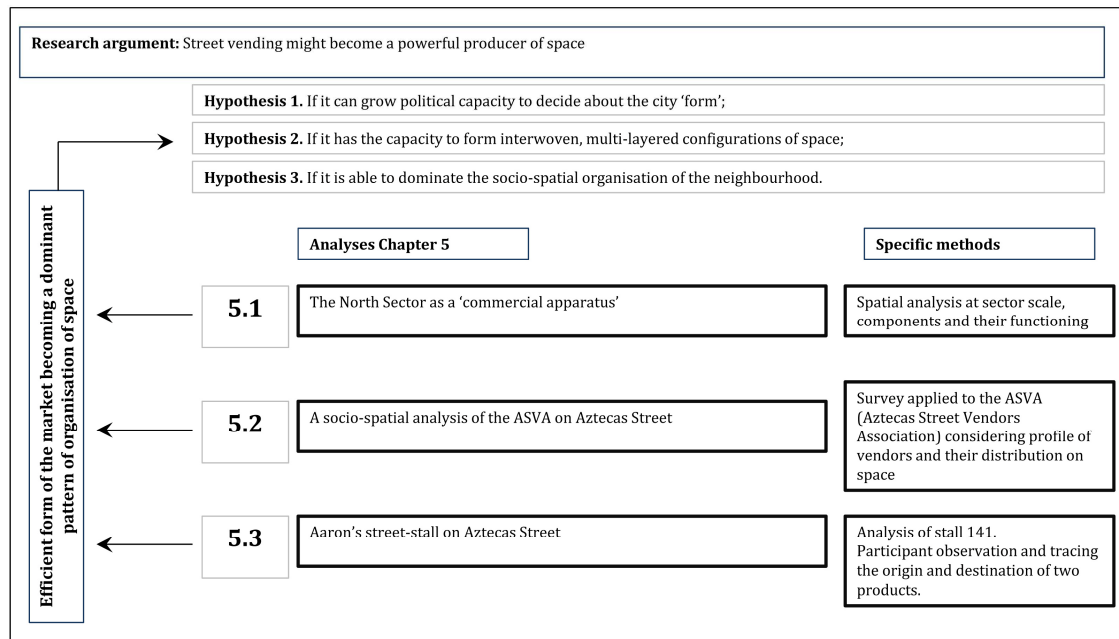


Figure 30 Analyses corresponding to Theme 2

Multi-scale spatial analysis is used as a method to explore the market organisation, as explained in the first part of the Chapter. Analysis 5.1 looks at the commercial organisation of the North Sector scale as if it were a metaphor for a 'supermarket', formed by specialised street markets, commercial poles, a multiplicity of smaller *plazas* and facilities such as bus terminals. At the street scale, Analysis 5.2 explores the social and spatial organisation of a group of vendors on Aztecas Street, the way they formed a specialised market to attract more clients, the profile of the vendors, their relations to space and the goods they sell. The final analysis, 5.3, considers the organisation of a stall and tracks the origin of commodities and their final destinations to understand the capacity of street traders to establish commercial connections throughout multiple locations.

Method analysis 5.1: The North Sector market area

The analysis explores the market organisation at the North Sector scale. The hypothesis is that different components of space like closed markets, *plazas*, specialised streets, etc. work together as a coherent 'body'. The street market is not only formed by the commercial streets, but by other structures that are also part of the commercial system as a whole. The territorial approach to street vending may give insights into how larger configurations are formed in space.

The analysis at this scale focuses solely on the spatial dimension of the phenomenon. Different elements of space were identified, using a method similar to that of Kevin Lynch's image of the city (1960) in order to look at the role they play in the general organisation of a coherent 'syntax'. To do the mapping, I visited the market area with key informants several times. The drawings were produced in Autocad using the city cadastre version 2005.

Method analysis 5.2: The socio-spatial organisation of Aztecas Street

The analysis focuses on the area occupied by the ASVA on Aztecas Street, a major commercial corridor in the area. Associations are political and social organisations and are comprised of spatial 'units'; the study of how these units work might give insights into the organisation of the market as a decentralised system. The unions have developed the capacity to negotiate the areas that they are to occupy on the streets with the authorities, and to organise the distribution of the vending. The way the unions work independently as autonomous entities, but at the same time collectively, is considered a key feature of the informal organisation of the market.

The profile of the street vendors was studied as well as their spatial distribution. A survey with 17 questions was conducted at each stall situated in the ASVA's area, see Annex 1. This occurred on 28/12/2010. Each survey completed at the stalls had an individual ID that was used to map them in Arcview, a geographical information system. This allowed me to do mappings for the different variables of the database. The survey was completed by a total of 71 stalls and then mapped.

I tested the survey and discussed the questions with Tomas, one of the key informants or the research. Some of the variables, however, were answered by direct observation (variables 2, 15 and 17).

No personal data was asked of the vendors. The unit for the survey was the 'stall', which in general is divided into several 'vending places'. The size of the stalls can vary; the smallest have 3 vending spaces, while others can have 9 or more. The vendors and authorities had created this system for two reasons. The vending places are registered to the name of individuals; this means that a small stall can have three persons registered at a time. This increases the number of vendors registered in comparison to the actual number of vendors in the market, which gives more negotiation power to the unions and a legitimate reason for the authorities to let the vendors use the streets. The other

reason is that in most cases, these stalls are owned by families, not individuals, so in some cases the division of the stalls is used to ensure that the members of the family appear in the registry.

The traders did not hesitate to answer as to whether the stall was rented or not (variable 3). The presence of the leader's daughter persuaded the vendors to answer in a straightforward manner; results can be considered reliable.

The question regarding the place where the vendor's live (variable 6) may not reflect the reality. In many cases traders answered that they lived in the city centre or in Tepito; they may have properties in these areas that they use as storage places or rent out to market workers, but they are not their principal residence.

Traders tended to respond that they had worked at the market for a longer time; in general this argument is used to legitimate their activities. The answers were taken into account only when they were coherent with the information provided by the leaders and when the vendors were able to offer details of the different periods of the market.

Four categories of vendors were created using the database and Addati, a statistical analysis software, see results in Annex 2. I carried out some tests while defining the active variables, those that were considered more influential for defining the profiles. After the tests, I defined two main active variables and had the programme create four groups. The influential variables used to define the profiles of the vendors were: the time that vendors had been in the market, and the time they had been working in the same business line. The objective of the clustering was to identify the street vendors that had evolved with the market over time from those who have a more business-like profile, those who now work in the market because the stalls are a good business model. The clustering is important to argue that street vendors, when they acquire the right to a place, rent it out, in some cases, to people that are qualified entrepreneurs. These practices have an impact on the transformation of the 'street' into a 'business place', reflecting a production of space.

Method Analysis 5.3: Stall 141 and its global connections

Street stalls can become successful micro-businesses. They can establish a wide variety of connections to distribution networks in the metropolitan area, to other regions of the national territory or even to the Asian producers/importers. Depending on the abilities of the vendors, some of them are able to carry out transactions using new technologies

like smart phones. The hypothesis is that as the market becomes more attractive and the profile of the street vendors becomes more entrepreneurial, the street stalls become more productive. The productivity of the stalls and its role in the global economy may alter the value of the streets as an exchange value.

I chose Tomas's stall on Aztecas street as a case study. I observed the stall for two weeks to understand the activity. I talked to neighbouring vendors, clients, people offering their services, etc. Together with Tomas, I also went to the place where a family was producing wrestling masks and interviewed them. They agreed to show me their production shop and tell me the story of the family.

These analyses support the argument that street vending can become a dominant pattern of organisation within a territory. This pattern follows the social and economic logic of the market at several scales. The tendency of this organisation is to become more efficient and entrepreneurial-oriented, which reflects in the increasing utilisation of the streets as a 'business asset'.

3.3.3 Theme 3 – Ravaging the neighbourhood

This theme explores the transformation of space, especially it looks at the social relations contained and reproduced in it: the social space. I look at the depletion of social space by looking at how significant places in the neighbourhood were occupied by the market activities or have changed their role in the neighbourhood. Two scales are used; one, is the sector scale and the second is the house-street scale.

Three analyses are proposed to explain this relation. Analysis 6.1 is done at the scale of the North Sector. It explores how the expansion of the market has affected the organisation of the community within the neighbourhoods. Analysis 6.2 explores the transformation of the *vecindad* on Aztecas Street and Analysis 6.3 the transformation of a *vecindad* on CT Street. Figure 31 shows the specific analyses of this section and their relation to the main argument of the research.

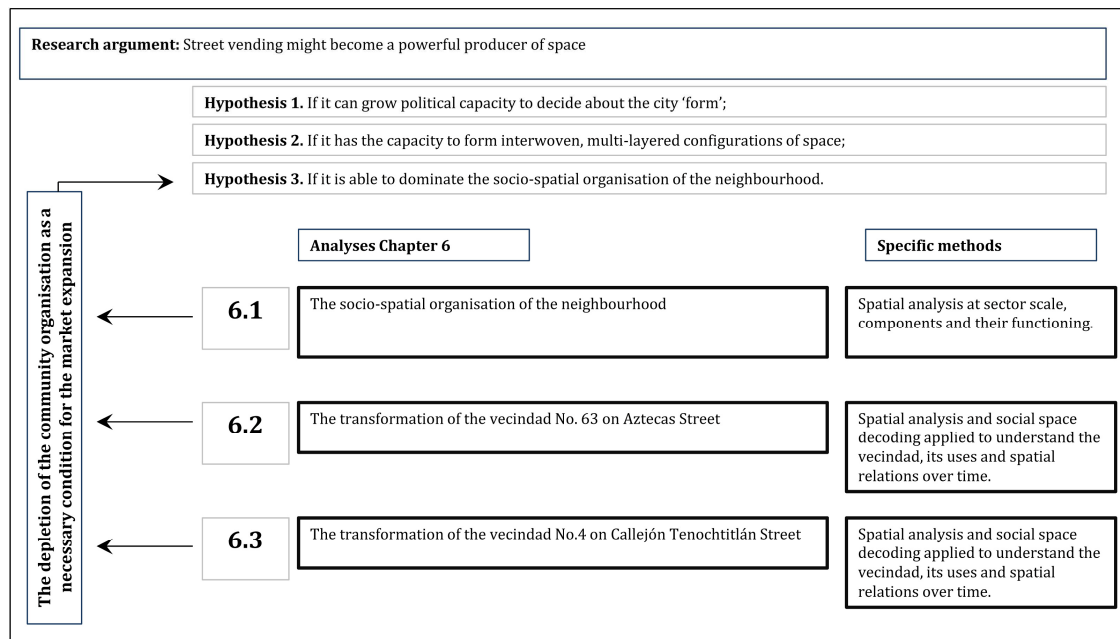


Figure 31 Analyses corresponding to Theme 3

The analyses support the argument that the production of space requires the breakdown of the neighbourhood's community organisation. This transformation is not only an appropriation of the streets, but it also implies the modification of the social relations that are constructed within space, from which the capacity of collective organisation depends. I suggest that the depletion of the community decreases the capacities of the territory to cope with difficulties and to persist as a social and spatial unit over time.

Methods analysis 6.1: The North Sector as a community organisation

The analysis looks at the elements of the neighbourhood that form the community organisation in connection to the expansion of the street market. The objective is to show that the expansion of the market reduces the spaces for the community's social interaction, the use-value of space.

The mappings and spatial analysis were done in Autocad using the 2005 city cadastre. In some cases, Google Street and Wikimapia were used to confirm observations. To obtain the information, I visited the area several times with Mario, Tepito inhabitant and key informant, and members of the Tepito Arte Acá cultural group. I made sketches, took photos when possible and took notes during the visits. The spatial analysis done by Arregui Solano et al. (1981) and Aguilar Urbina (1987) were used as an important reference.

Methods analysis 6.2: Transformation of *vecindad* No. 63 on Aztecas Street

The *vecindades* played an important role in the construction of the Tepito community. They are, as Lefebvre defines it, spaces of representation; places where social relations were particularly meaningful for the community. The 'form' of the *vecindades*, as a collective typology of habitat, promoted a specific kind of lifestyle. It also contributed to shape common values based mainly on mutual help and solidarity, which were essential in the construction of the 'identity' of the community and resilience.

The transformation of the *vecindad* was explored to observe how market activities have modified the spatial and social relations. I look specifically at the role of the collective houses in the general organisation of the neighbourhood and how this relation has changed with the expansion of the market. The hypothesis is that the streets have acquired a new central role as 'attractors' of the new configuration of space. The concept of attractors was defined in the theory chapter; it refers to elements that become a central organising pattern within emerging organisations. In this reconfiguration, the *vecindades* change their central role to a secondary one, as a mere support for the commercial activities, losing their place as centres of community life. These analyses of the *vecindades* highlight the role that space plays in the construction of a neighbourhood's sense of community.

Two mental maps were made with Mario. Because he is not accustomed to architectural drawings, I drew while he explained how the *vecindad* was organised in the 1960s, as an approximation of time, and how it had changed in relation to the time when these maps were made (2011). The original plans were found in the research work done by Arregui Solano et al. (1981).

Three aspects were analysed in each period of time: form of space, uses of each space, and the interrelationships between these uses. I highlighted those families using more than one dwelling in the *vecindad* for different purposes: living, renting, storing and/or working. This was done to understand how the 'polychronic' attributes of space contributed to create ties within the community and the neighbourhood; and how these relationships changed over time. In the 1960s analysis I highlight people that were living in the *vecindad*, working there in the workshops and using the streets to distribute their crafts. This shows that houses and streets were functioning as places of production and social constructs. In the case of the current organisation, the tendency is to rent dwellings as storage spaces and street stalls as part of the local businesses. The modification of the

social relations interwoven in space reflects how the expansion of the market affects the community organisation.

Methods analysis 6.3: Transformation of *vecindad* No. 4 on CT Street

The analysis of this *vecindad* is similar to the previous one; it looks at the occupations of residents, uses, and relations of space during the 1960s up until today (2011). In this case, I focus on the amount of empty dwellings and the ones used for the distribution of drugs.

An important difference in contrast to the previous *vecindad* is that this one had not been reconstructed after the earthquake. It kept its original form and is located on the most dangerous street in the neighbourhood. Transformation only regards social and spatial relations. The analysis explores how and to what extent the commercial activities have depleted the neighbourhood, acting as a buffer against more destructive illegal activities. I include in the analysis anecdotes told by key informants about the problems that the residents face with the drug dealers, how they deal with them, and the motives that nearly forced them to move out the neighbourhood.

Tepito experts argue that the street market prevents the neighbourhood from being taken over by the drug cartels. I argue that the expansion of illegal activities, including drugs distribution, increased after the expansion of the market and has affected the Tepito community deeply. The analysis of the uses of this *vecindad* shows the dwellings that were converted into drugs point of sales, as evidence of the negative effect. I also include anecdotes of local inhabitants talking about the problem. However, the research does not delve on the relation between the drugs and the neighbourhood, which would require a different methodology.

In this case, shop changes were analysed to show how economic diversity was destroyed and substituted with specialisation. Maps were made with Carlos, a key informant, and his cousin, actual resident of Tepito. The process was similar to the previous analysis.

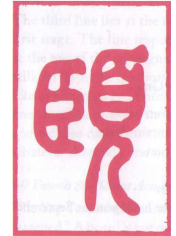
The ultimate objective of the analysis of this *vecindad* is to show how the social relations established through the practice of space had changed over time affecting the local community and their practices of space. A special focus is given to the vulnerability of the community and its incapacity to regain control over space and to limit the activities of the market and other destructive activities related to it. The depletion of the neighbourhood in physical but mainly in social terms is not a consequence of the expansion of the

market activities, I suggest, it is part of the process of production of space. To transform space into an exploitable asset it is necessary to reconfigure that asset as a social use-value protected by the community.

The specific analyses are developed in the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Growing empowerment



Yi • Nourishing 73

Chapter four is the first dedicated to the case study, it explores the alliances between city authorities and street vendors. The argument is that street vendors can become a political force, able not only to get a place in the streets, but to make decisions about, and give a 'form' to, space. In fact, I argue that the formation of a joint management structure, between vendors and authorities, produces a particular social and a spatial 'form' of space; a market that is at the same time a 'private-public' construct.

The Chapter explores three interrelated processes. The first is the empowerment of the street vendor unions, in which both the city authorities and the street vendors played an active role. The second is the progressive consolidation of the street market as a permanent structure in space; a process intimately linked to the street vendors' political consolidation. I support the idea that street vendors in the North Sector would not have been able to consolidate the street market without ensuring their access to space through political alliances; however, this process has simultaneously followed its own spatial, social, and commercial logic, which will be developed in Chapter 5. The third process explores the kinds of links between vendors and authorities, which have been interwoven over time and have formed a joint market management structure. I am proposing the idea that this structure could be seen as a regulatory system; that is, the

⁷³ The images are from the book called *I Ching*, translated as *Mutations*. This is an ancient Chinese book that proposes a method of divination based on the association and concatenation of different 'positions' as the essence of transformation. I chose the concatenation of three of these positions as a metaphor: 'nourishing', 'great accumulation' and 'darkness'. I use these images to suggest that the three processes detailed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 describe a general movement.

‘mechanisms’ that ensure the production of the territory as an ‘increasingly efficient marketplace’.

This Chapter is divided into three parts. The first explores the role of the city authorities in the process of street vending empowerment. The second looks at the role of the street vendors, their capacity to organise and to develop new abilities to create alliances with the political system and to consolidate the market. The third describes the roles that the authorities, formal institutions and street vendor leaders play in the management of the streets.

4.1 The role of city authorities

This section provides details of the city government interests in the city, its position on street vending and how it dealt with it over time. The general idea in this chapter is that a contradiction was generated by a clash between the authorities’ desire of a modern city without vendors and the people’s need of street vending for their livelihood. This contradiction was never solved and thus forced authorities to systematically renegotiate tolerance of vendors in the streets. In this part, I explore how street vendors have progressively consolidated their political power and become a permanent, yet unregulated, activity in the North Sector.

Four relevant city administrations are studied, and focus is placed on their interests, political strategies, policies, and how these policies contributed to progressively empowering the street vending system. The first two administrations correspond to the Ernesto Uruchurtu regime (1952-1966) and the Camacho Solís administration (1988-1993). These were PRI administrations and both Heads of Department of the Federal District were appointed directly by the Nation’s President. The third and fourth administrations, which demonstrated continuity in their political and spatial strategies, correspond to the López Obrador (2000-2005) and Marcelo Ebrard (2006-2012) administrations. These latter city governments were part of the PRD political party and were democratically elected by the citizens, a process that started in 1997.

4.1.1 The Ernesto Uruchurtu administration (1952-1966)

The economic model implemented in the 1950s promoted Mexico City as the industrial centre of the country. Mexico City pretended to be a modern city, the driving force of the industrialisation of the country. In the early 1950s, a master plan for Mexico City was conceived by renowned architects Mario Pani and Enrique del Moral in response to this economic role. The elimination of slum areas and of the activities of the poor, such as street vending, was desirable in order to promote an image of a modern Mexico (Morales 2007). The modernisation of the city led the government to prohibit street vending by law in 1952. Authorities repressed the street vendors and cleaned up the streets, without taking into account the importance of the activity for the livelihoods of many people, especially low qualified migrants. However, industrialisation was only partially achieved and the policies revealed unsuitable for the social and economic reality of the city. This was the case of the regulations and policies regarding street vending.

From the beginning of E. Uruchurtu's government, street vending was strongly repressed. Only in the first week, he had 2,100 street vendors removed from the city centre (Cross 1988). This action gave him the nickname of 'Iron Regent'. At city level, his political strategy was to represent the interests of the merchants and petit bourgeois who lived in the city centre, which was already an expanding commercial area (Monnet 1988). This may explain Uruchurtu's interest in moving street vendors out of the area.

'Uruchurtu owed his political success to his ability to represent the interests of the petit bourgeois, merchant and service classes of the city centre, classes that had been ignored by the PRI with its urban policy focused on the interests of workers and industrialists. As a result of this focus, the PRI's support in Mexico City had declined to a low of 49 percent of the vote in the elections of 1952' (Davis 1994, quoted in Cross 1998: p. 161).

Street vendors were evicted without being offered an alternative solution. In fact, the city administration had built only one market for 1,000 vendors, which was not nearly enough to relocate all of them (Cross 1988). Furthermore, not all of the street traders were prepared to transition into a fixed market venue.

The city was then growing rapidly and becoming a metropolitan area. Some incoming migrants turned to street vending as a way to participate in economic activities and make a living, especially the women. Street vending was an opportunity, in some cases a

survival strategy, for the urban poor; this can explain their strong resistance to stop vending.

‘My father came to the city centre with his family to make more money. He was from a place near Tlahuac (30 km SW from Mexico City), a city where traditional fruit desserts are produced. He found a job in a factory that produced this kind of desserts. Sometimes the patroness wasn’t able to pay the workers, so she paid later, but in the meanwhile we had no money. Then, my mother and I took some cans from the factory. I started selling them to the children at school, because my mother was shy and was not able to sell yet. We used to live in a place behind the railway and I started selling the sweets near a fence. I was 7 or 8 years old. Selling allowed the family to complete my father’s salary’ (Benita Chavarría, vendors’ leader in the city centre (aged 70) in Ziccardi 2010: p. 13; translation by LO).

A high level of repression was necessary to prevent street traders from returning to the streets. Police use to beat and imprison them, even women and young girls. Goods were confiscated and never returned to the vendors. These police and government actions provoked a feeling of injustice and frustration in the street trading community. A street vendor from the Aztecas street market explains: ‘we were treated as criminals, but our crime was to only try to survive’ (LO field notes 02/12/2010).

Strong repression promoted the organisation of the street vendors in order to reduce their risks and so that they were able to continue selling in the streets. They started developing strategies to hide and organise amongst themselves to better resist. Neighbours, shop keepers and clerical staff also gave them support.

‘The lack of resources and the struggle to keep selling are the most important difficulties I faced as a street vendor. We were persecuted, and sometimes caught and beaten in the streets. This happened because the authorities took away the goods and used force to put the vendors in the vehicles taking advantage of their authority. They did not give it back to us; to keep selling we had to ask for loans, it was difficult. The unions started when we realised that we need each other to fight against the police and the authorities.’ (Estela Jiménez Jiménez, in Ziccardi 2010: p. 26).

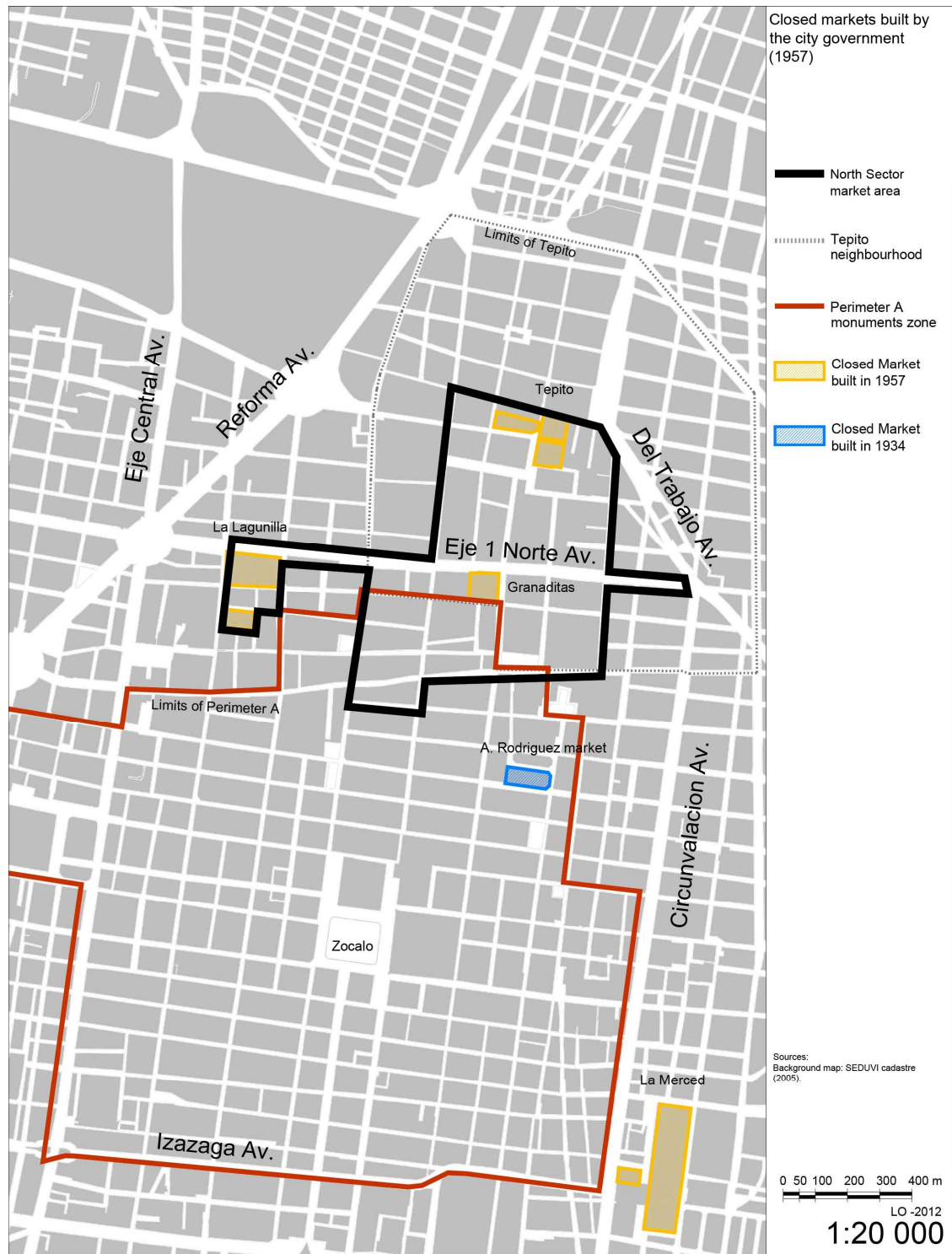
Street vendors mobilised to ask authorities for a solution to their situation. Two thousand traders staged a protest at the city government offices. The authorities were forced to offer street vendors an alternative solution in order to prevent major protests (Cross 1998: p. 164). This way, traders were able to organise and put pressure upon city decision-makers. The city government launched an ambitious Market Construction

Programme to relocate street vendors and, at the same time, organise the provisioning of goods at city scale.

The Market Construction Programme (1957)

The Market Construction Programme was the alternative solution that the authorities proposed to the street vendors. More than 180 closed markets were constructed through the programme in Mexico City, six of them in the North Sector, as shown in Map 10.

The programme had two objectives: namely, to keep street vendors out of the streets, and to use them as political capital for the PRI. In fact, a client-patron relation was established between the vendors and the authorities during the organisation of the relocation of the street vendors to the newly constructed markets. The city authorities exploited the Market Construction Programme for political ends.



Map 10 Markets constructed in 1957

The programme failed to accomplish its first objective; it did not work to keep the streets vendors out of the streets. The Programme was launched without any feasibility studies. As a result, authorities didn't realise that street trading does not operate in the same economic and commercial logics as those of market traders. Indeed, having a stall in a

closed market represented a greater cost than selling directly in the street due to overhead costs such as rent, maintenance services, management, etc. This cost varied from 20 MXN (1 GBP) to 100 MXN (5 GBP, exchange rate 20 MXN for 1 GBP) per day. Additionally, street traders can establish themselves where they can find clients, while market traders have to wait for clients to come to them.

'The locale change from the public thoroughfare to a market changed the nature of selling, requiring traders to adapt their marketing strategies in ways that few were prepared for' (Cross 1998: p. 174).

The stall's rent, the lack of clientele and the need to recover their monetary investment on a daily basis pushed some traders to return to the streets. In the case of the Tepito markets in the North Sector, some of the street traders returned to the streets within the same year of the markets' opening.

'In 1957, the same year the markets were opened, twenty five flea market traders (*ayateros*) settle down in the Callejón de la Rinconada Street (in-between the Tepito markets). In 1971, a conflict between the market traders and the street vendors arose; market traders argued that street vendors were getting all the clients' (Aréchiga Córdoba 2003).

The Market Construction Programme also failed because it was unaffordable. The programme required large investments, not only for the construction of the market buildings, but also for the maintenance and administration costs that could not be covered by the traders themselves. In fact, without this subsidisation, it wouldn't have been possible for the traders to move into the markets at all. As a result, the programme was cancelled as soon as E. Uruchurtu resigned as Head of Department of the Federal District in 1966.

'Between 1953 and 1958 alone, half of the entire budget for the Federal District was spent for building or refurbishing almost 90 market buildings. Officially, this investment was supposed to reduce the cost to the final consumer, but, more important, it was used to 'bribe' traders into moving off the streets without any resistance' (Cross 1998: p. 164).

In terms of the political aims, the programme was successful; for the 1952 political campaign, the PRI had the support of an important number of street traders.

'The skilful manipulation of the Market Construction Programme was already paying off in the political realm by 1958. On February 12 of that year, a rally of 40,000 market stall-holders and their families showed up for a huge political rally in support of López Mateos (president from 1958 to 1964). The head of the PRI noted that the 1958 campaign was the first in which small merchants had played a substantial role, something he attributed directly to the Market Construction Programme' (Cross 1998 p. 171).

The city authorities implemented a programme which did not consider the commercial logic of the street vendors. However, the authorities used the street vendors as political capital to support the campaigns of some candidates of the PRI. The political system has a diversity of groups, or cliques, each with their own strategy to increase their political strength. Street vendors, who were increasing their numbers, were interesting as political supporters of some cliques, as described by John Cross (1998).

The formation of the unions

The Market Construction Programme promoted the recognition of the street vendors' organisations. The relocation of the vendors to the closed markets was not an easy task for city authorities. In fact, there was no registry of the vendors that occupied the streets, and many claimed to be street traders, which caused conflicts and disputes among the groups. To facilitate the task, the city government asked the vendors to organise themselves and to name a representative in order to establish a dialogue with the government. The city authorities were not prepared to carry out this kind of management tasks and had to improvise and find a quick solution to cope with the problem. The city government delegated the decision of which street vendors had the right to be relocated to the markets to the street vendor associations. The authorities only established the areas where the unions were authorised to continue their activities in the streets, while waiting to be relocated. This procedure resulted from a lack of design of the programme, especially regarding its implementation; it also authorised the unions to use the streets, even if temporarily, and gave them power to decide who could occupy the streets.

The unions were recognised as civil associations affiliated with the PRI and recognised by the city government⁷⁴. This kind of organisation corresponds to the concept of urban

⁷⁴ After the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the political system was formed by organisations (corporations) of workers and peasants. These corporations were affiliated with the PRI, and constituted its source of power,

corporativism as defined by Duahu and Giglia (2008), which is discussed in the theory chapter. This is a tactic that the PRI has systematically used to control social groups.

The associations were required to have a minimum of 100 members and be represented by a leader. The groups that had fewer members were forced to find new members. In the Tepito neighbourhood, residents were asked to join the trader groups to increase their number and power in order to negotiate with authorities (field notes 2011, interview with Mario). The market programme has promoted the expansion of the activity by recognising the unions, especially those with a high number of members.

‘Politically, the civil associations were also forced to affiliate with the PRI and support political actions on behalf of that party. More importantly, Uruchurtu used the associations to advance his own career’ (Cross 1998: p. 171).

In the beginning, the unions were created temporarily, only for the duration of the construction of the markets. However, the Market Construction Programme was cancelled due to the costs it represented and the growing number of street vendors to relocate. After the programme was cancelled and E. Uruchurtu was out of office, the city authorities decided to allow vendors to use the streets and to keep the street vendors’ unions.

Mexico faced an economic crisis during the 1976-1982 period. During the same period, the city population increased from 9 million to 14 million (Rivardi re 2011). Authorities tolerated the use of the streets by the vendors during those times of hardship. The 1985 earthquake provoked a political crisis, as mentioned in the presentation of the case, which also contributed to the lack of repressive measures against vendors.

During this period, important street trader leaderships consolidated, such as the famed Guillermina Rico. Street vendor leaders became powerful; for example, Guillermina Rico controlled several streets in the city centre and almost 7,000 loyal traders. Authorities controlled the street vendors through the negotiations with the leaders, which progressively became powerful political actors. By empowering the leaders, the city authorities lost control of the commercial streets and the territories.

strength and control. The administration of Miguel Alem n, President of Mexico from 1946 to 1952, and political supporter of Ernesto Uruchurtu, promoted this kind of corporatist organisation.

4.1.2 The Camacho Solís administration (1988-1993)

In 1988, the city regent Camacho Solís was attempting to promote an image of a 'can do' politician to prepare for the 1994 presidential elections. He used the cleaning up of the streets in the city centre's monuments' zone as evidence of his political power. This area had been recently nominated by UNESCO which legitimised the eviction of the vendors from the area. C. Solís bribed the leaders by giving them concessions to use plots in the city centre to build *plazas*⁷⁵ where vendors could relocate to, in exchange for accepting to move out from the streets. This political strategy was considered a farce by John Cross (1988).

The political strategy of C. Solís produced the following ramifications. First, it increased the power of the street vendor leaders, in political and economical terms. The leaders demanded the vendors to give money to build the *plazas*, but few were able to move in as this required a different commercial strategy. The leaders, and the persons close to them, kept the stalls that had a front to the streets for them and started renting out the other less accessible stalls to be used as storage places or other kinds of market facilities. At the same time, they negotiated the use of other streets with the authorities in order to relocate the street vendors that had not been able to get a place in the *plazas*. Street vending was empowered in two ways: by reinforcing the commercial system with the construction of the *plazas*, and by negotiating the occupation of the streets in the nearby areas.

Second, the empowerment of leaders alienated the relationship between them and the street vendors they represented. In some cases the 'natural leaders' remained loyal to the group's principles and tried to stay in the streets. However, in other cases, the leaders started defending their own economic and political interests over those of the street vendors. Broadly, two different kinds of leaders emerged; the 'natural leaders' who did not accept the relocation to the *plazas* and who tried to keep their group in the streets, and the '*cacique* leaders' who accepted the *plazas*, became powerful and started controlling a large amount of traders. An example of a '*cacique* leader' is Alejandra Barrios, whose group got the *plaza* Plaza Pino Suarez, an important centre located

⁷⁵ The word '*plaza*' refers to a small *plaza*. Originally, the word in Spanish designates a public square used, among other activities, by street vendors. The solution proposed to the street vendors by the city authorities was to relocate them in buildings called *plazas*. The use of this word, designating an open space, reveals the assumption that it is possible to move an activity taking place in the streets to a building without changing the nature of commerce.

outside the Pino Suarez subway station. In addition to this *plaza*, she controls some streets in the North Sector, such as Argentina Street and part of Eje 1 Norte Avenue. Her political power has grown to the point of becoming a representative at city congress. Thus, a division was created between the street vendors and the leaders, which led to the establishment of hierarchical organisations within the unions, in some cases more noticeable than others.

Third, the progressive empowerment of the leaders modified the kind of relationship they had established with the city authorities. In the 1980s the leaders were already powerful political actors. The nature of the negotiations changed, vendors were able to request important market concessions to move out from the main streets. Every time that the city authorities accepted these terms, they fuelled the street vending system in political and spatial terms.

During this period (1988-1993), legislation was modified to tolerate street vending during 'traditional festivities'. However, the law did not specify which traditional festivities it was referring to, and the conditions in which they took place. The ambiguity of the law allowed, on one hand, to justify any street market in the name of a 'traditional festivity' and, on the other, to collect taxes from the street vendors. The city vendors benefited from this modification to the law as they were perceived as more legitimate users of space. The law gave certain security to the vendors, but at the same time did not make the activity entirely legal. The concept of ambivalence as a resource, which is discussed in the theory chapter, matches with this kind of legal framework (Rita Calabró 1997). Ambivalence on the rules and frames is used as a resource to deal with unsolvable contradictions. Street vendors were allowed on the streets while at the same time this was not completely legal. The system, however allowed the vendors to secure their street businesses to a certain extent by having some kind of legal support.

During the C. Solís administration, the streets in the North Sector were consolidated as commercial corridors. Vendors were able to negotiate to stay in the street as they joined and formed a confederation of traders in the Tepito market area. This is the case of the Aztecas, Girón, Haití, Nicaragua, Florida and Tenochtitlán Streets.

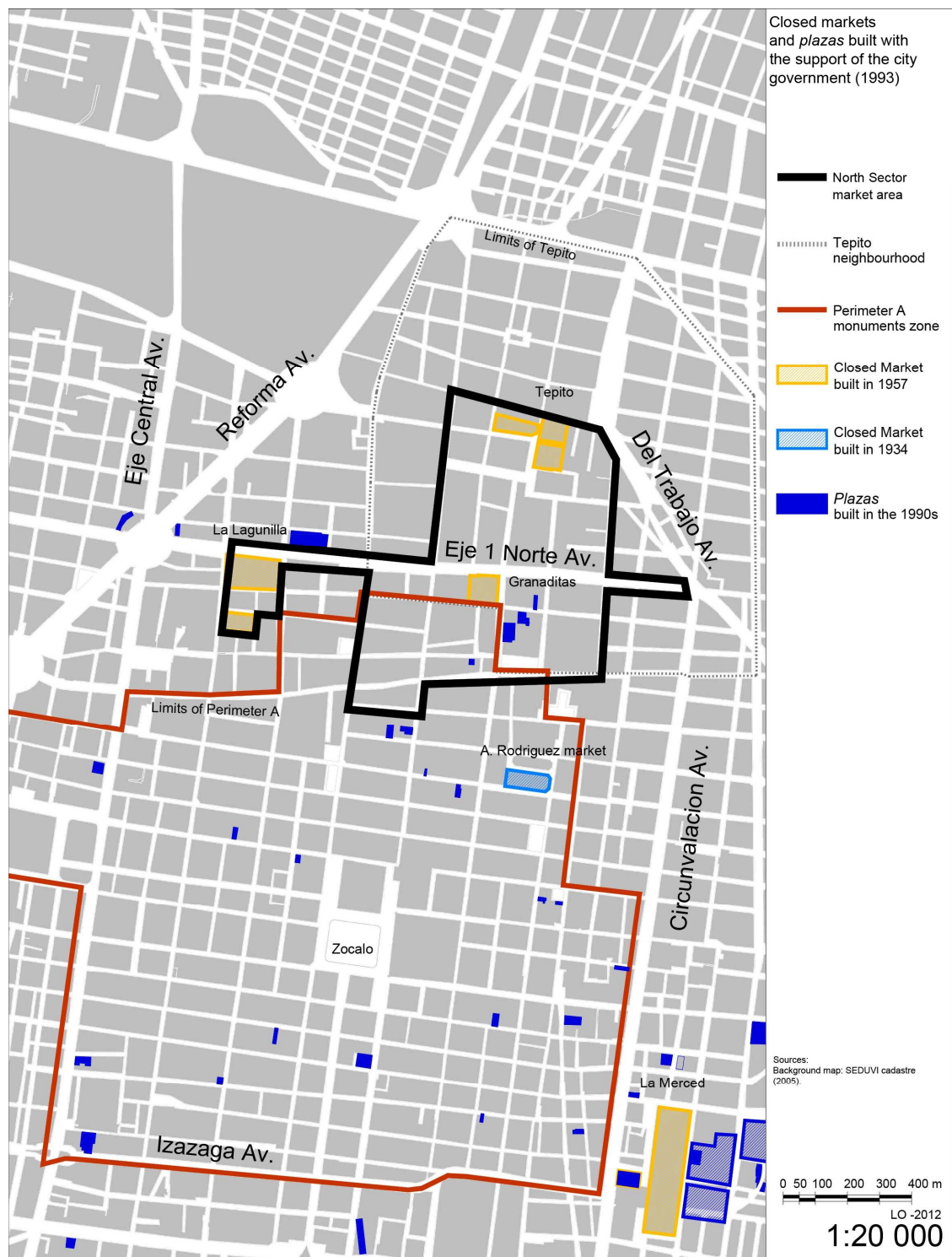
A bill called 'Bando de 1993' (1993 Proclamation, in English) was passed in order to prohibit street trading in the city centre's Monuments' Zone (perimeter A). In 1997, the legislation was slightly modified again and the new bill was called 'Acuerdo 1198', in English 'Agreement 1198'. This year, the city changed its administration radically; the city government was elected by citizens and, since this first election, the PRD has won the

elections. During the reorganisation of the city government, the street vendors stayed in the streets, they were not evicted definitely from this Monuments' Zone area until 2007.

The *plazas* constructed under the 1993 Relocation Programme

The Relocation Programme considered only the street vendors in the city centre. A total of 27 *plazas* were financed by the traders themselves on the plots conceded to them by the city authorities. The permission to use the plots was limited to 10 years and could be renewed at the end of the period. The construction belongs to the traders and the plot to the city government. However, the plot is used as a property of the representatives of the unions.

Fifty-two percent of the *plazas* were constructed in the east side of the city centre, 30% in the south, and 18% in the north, in the Lagunilla and Garibaldi areas (Ziccardi 2011), as shown in Map 11. It should be noted that the west side, the area towards the Alameda Park and the Madero Street, is commercially oriented towards touristic and luxury consumption so almost no *plazas* were constructed in this area.



Map 11 Plazas constructed in 1993

The *plazas* were different from the public markets constructed in the late 1950s. They were constructed in small and empty plots, where buildings had been destroyed during the 1985 earthquake. Frequently, the *plazas* were located on secondary streets and were

not visible from the more prominent avenues. It is worth mentioning that accessibility, visibility and size are very important factors for the commercial success of the *plazas*.

Only a few of them evolved into powerful commercial vertices as is the case of the *Plaza Pino Suarez* in the south sector. This *plaza* was situated on a main avenue, behind a metro station, and specialised in selling clothes and shoes. In general, the area is specialised in this business line. These favourable conditions can explain its commercial success.

Most of the *plazas* were not properly connected to the city fabric, and had difficulties in developing commercial activities. The architectural design of the *plazas* was not properly conceived. These were financed by the street vendors themselves, which means that they did not have enough capital to invest in a more qualitative design. In the worst cases, the distribution of stalls on several floors resulted in a series of dark corridors that did not attract clients, quite the opposite. Selling places were too small to display the merchandise properly. The height of the ceiling was low to decrease construction costs, the finishes were austere and, in general, buildings were constructed with low quality materials. However, the structures were recycled and adapted to carry out entrepreneurial activities that suited the conditions of the *plaza*, for example toilets, shipping services, food preparation, etc. These services reinforced the commercial activities of the street market, which in turn became more efficient. The capacity to recycle unsuitable structures and turn them into business opportunities is part of the resilience of the street vending system.

Similar to what happened with the closed markets in the late 1950s, only a small proportion of street vendors who moved into the *plazas* were able to stay (Stamm 2005). Once again, the construction of the *plazas* did not work for keeping the street vendors out of the streets. On the contrary, the *plazas* ended up becoming a part of the street market commercial system in the area.

The *plazas* do not compete with the street vendors in general; they carry out different, complementary kinds of commercial activities. Figure 32 shows a *plaza* located in the North Sector, on Costa Rica Street, very near to Aztecas Street. The *plaza* was built to relocate the vendors, but it is used in a different way. The upper floor is used as storage places, some of which are rented out and others are used by the vendors that were supposed to be relocated there. Having a place like this is convenient because they have a formal business address and, thus, they can import goods. In addition, this floor has a coffee shop and toilet services. On the ground floor, stalls distribute wholesale goods,

especially imported shoes. Street vendors buy their goods in this place and then sell them in the nearby streets, especially near the city centre core area, on Moneda Street or El Carmen Street, to end consumers. The *plaza* works as an intermediary, supplying goods to the street vendors.



Figure 32 Example of a *plaza* on Costa Rica Street

The inefficiencies of the city government were repeated during the C. Solís administration. Again a lack of planning, design and management led to the progressive empowerment of the street vending system in two ways: as a political force, and as a commercial system structured in space.

4.1.3 The PRD city administrations (2000-2012)

Two PRD administrations are particularly relevant, López Obrador's (2000-2005) and Marcelo Ebrard's (2006-2012). L. Obrador decided to implement an ambitious renovation project in the city centre known as Historic Centre Revitalisation Plan (2002). In the past, other city mayors had tried to rehabilitate the area for economic and political purposes, but it required political ability as the area was contested by both, popular groups and national and international capital investors. Two factors facilitated the process: one was the increasing decay of the city centre, and the second the political ability of L. Obrador to reconcile interests (Diane Davis 2007).

The revitalisation of the city centre responded to the following objectives. Mexico City was becoming a global city and the city centre was renovated to promote a new city image in the international scene in order to attract foreign investment. It was

modernised to attract investment, because the city centre has potential to develop tourism and 'glamorous' shops and restaurants, and because investors from the private sector had already shown their interest in the area. In fact, one of the principal capital investors is Carlos Slim, one of the richest persons in the world. In political terms, L. Obrador was trying to promote his image for the 2006 presidential elections using the renovation of the city centre as his flagship.

The implementation of the Revitalisation Plan started in 2004, and many of the important actions were completed in 2006, just before the elections⁷⁶. The implementation of the plan represented a public investment of 1,800 million MXN pesos (90 million GBP at a rate of 20 MXN for 1 GBP, the costs are not updated).

These are some of the actions of the plan that were implemented before the 2006 elections: The streets in the nearby area of the Zócalo⁷⁷ were renovated and a total of 34 blocks were rehabilitated. The public squares Seminario and Zócalo were rehabilitated in 2005, and the square called Fuente de la Fundación was rehabilitated in 2006. Motolinia Street was transformed into a pedestrian street. The Chinese neighbourhood located on Dolores Street was renovated in 2006. The same year, the High Court of Justice of the Federal District and the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs were constructed as emblematic examples of modern architecture.

In addition, an important number of monuments were restored, such as the Corpus Christi temple in 2005, the Panteón de San Fernando cemetery in 2006, part of the Ajaracas house in 2006, the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), the La Merced convent, the Jesús María temple, the building of the Escuela Secundaria No. 1 school, the La Concepción temple, the Loreto temple and the San Lorenzo temple, most of them during 2006. The National Council for Culture and Arts (CONACULTA) carried out some works in the Aztec ruins of the Templo Mayor, the Main Altar of the Cathedral, the Ancient Anglican Church, the Regina Coeli temple, the main hall of the Palace of Fine Arts, the Museum of National Cultures, the José Vasconcelos Library and the Ancient Archiepiscopal Palace, between 2005 and 2006. The Historic Centre Revitalisation Plan was implemented successfully and contributed to the transformation of the area.

⁷⁶ López Obrador represented the PRD in the 2006 presidential elections. He was voted second place, and his votes count was very close to the winner's, Calderón Hinojosa from the PAN right-wing party.

⁷⁷ Some of the renovated streets were: 16 de Septiembre, Donceles, Corregidora, Eje Central, Argentina and Palma.

The street vendors were removed during the execution of works in the streets, which facilitated their eviction. In 2006, Marcelo Ebrard was elected City Mayor. He had been in the ranks of the PRI and had worked for the Camacho Solís administration during the 1988-1993 negotiations with the street vendors. He had already worked with the unions and this made the negotiations easier.

In October 2007, a total of 87 streets, 192 blocks, in the historic centre monuments' zone (Perimeter A) were cleared out of street vendors. Approximately 15,000 street traders were removed from the area (Pradilla Cobos 2007). Since then, the area remains relatively 'clean', with the exception of some streets to the east and north. In some streets, such as Correo Mayor-El Carmen and Argentina, there are still some groups of hawkers as explained in the presentation of the case.

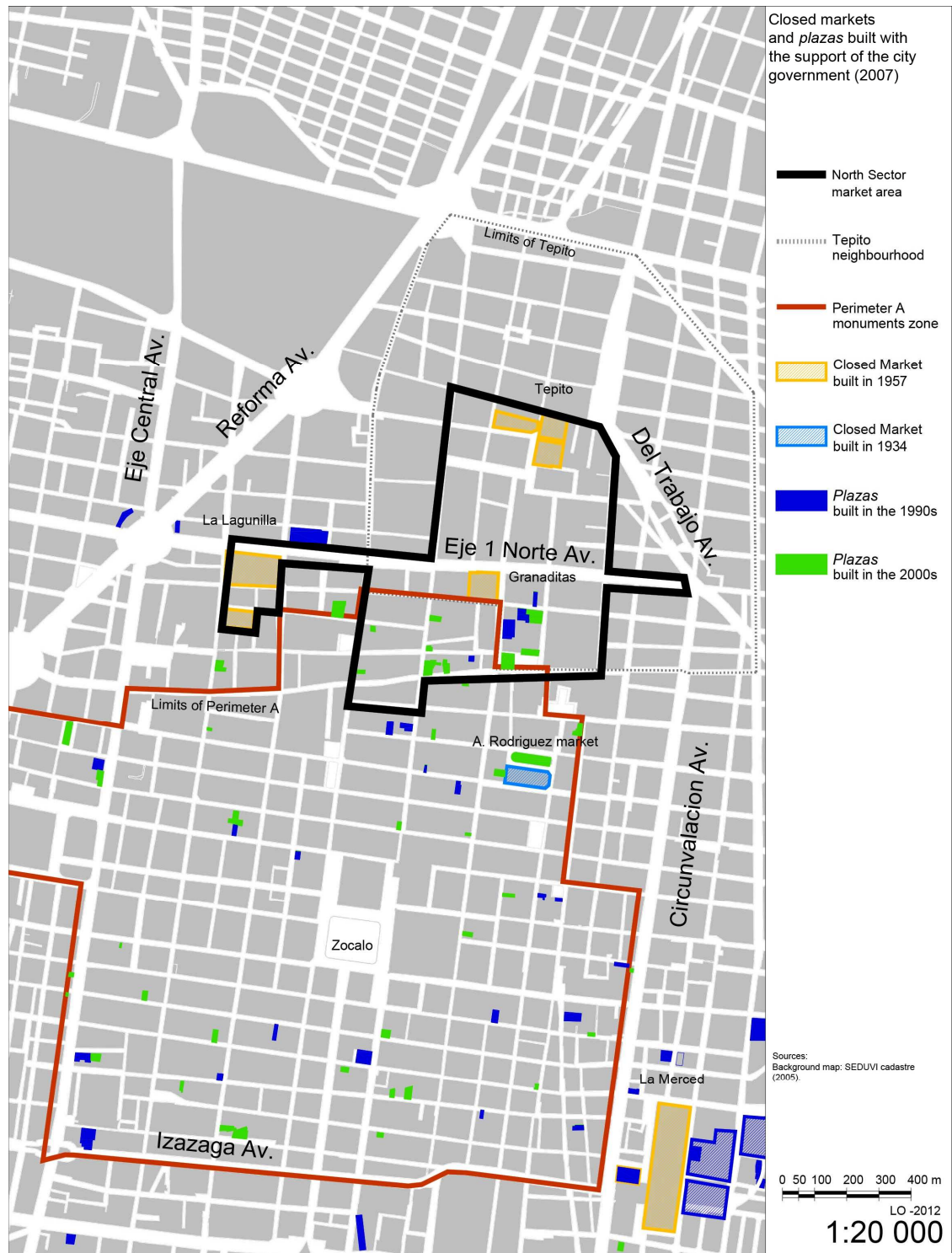
The priority of the two administrations was to rehabilitate the city centre. The removal of the street vendors was a secondary issue, necessary only to clear the streets of vendors to implement the Revitalisation Plan. The solution proposed to the vendors was, once more, a Relocation Programme, very similar to the one implemented back in 1993 under the C. Solís administration.

The *plazas* constructed under the 2007-2012 Relocation Programme

A total of 43 *plazas* were constructed in the city centre; and 4 public spaces were transformed into open markets. Fifty-three percent of the *plazas* were located in the north area, the 34% to the east and 13% to the south. The North Sector was affected by this programme more than with the previous relocation programmes, as shown in Map 12.

The programme had the same modality that the one implemented in the 1990s. In many cases, the occupation of public spaces and streets was conceded to the street vendors, without any public consultation. The maps show how the authorities contributed to reinforce the commercial use of the city centre by systematically giving the unions the possibility to build *plazas* in the available plots.

During the implementation of the programme, some of the unions in the North Sector negotiated with the authorities the construction of fixed structures directly on the streets, which was accepted by the city authorities. This was the case of the Aztecas, Haití, Florida, Caridad and Nicaragua streets, and the Eje 1 Avenue.



Map 12 *Plazas* constructed in 2007

Since the late 1990s, the city government showed interest in renovating the city centre, but it was not until the PRD government that the renovation of the city centre actually took place. The Historic Centre Renovation Plan was launched and several institutions

were created to implement it in space. These institutions are the Historic Centre Trust⁷⁸, the Historic Centre Authority⁷⁹, and the Public Space Authority⁸⁰. The primary objective of the plan is the renovation of streets and other public spaces, and the economic revitalisation of the area by developing luxury boutiques, restaurants, and touristic and cultural venues.

In 2011, a Management Plan for 'Perimeter A', a master plan, was designed to coordinate projects and actions in the area, as shown in Map 13. This plan considers the interventions that were necessary in the area, such as renovation of squares, renewal of the streets, restoration of buildings, etc. The master plan covers the area within the Perimeter A, except the area corresponding to the market in the North Sector, which is not included in the plan as a 'marketplace'. The fact that the market area is not represented in the plan might be interpreted as a strategy to allow more 'flexibility' to this territory. In fact, the master plan focuses mainly on issues regarding heritage and the renovation of public space. Other relevant aspects, such as the commercial organisation of the territory and its future evolution, are not actually addressed.

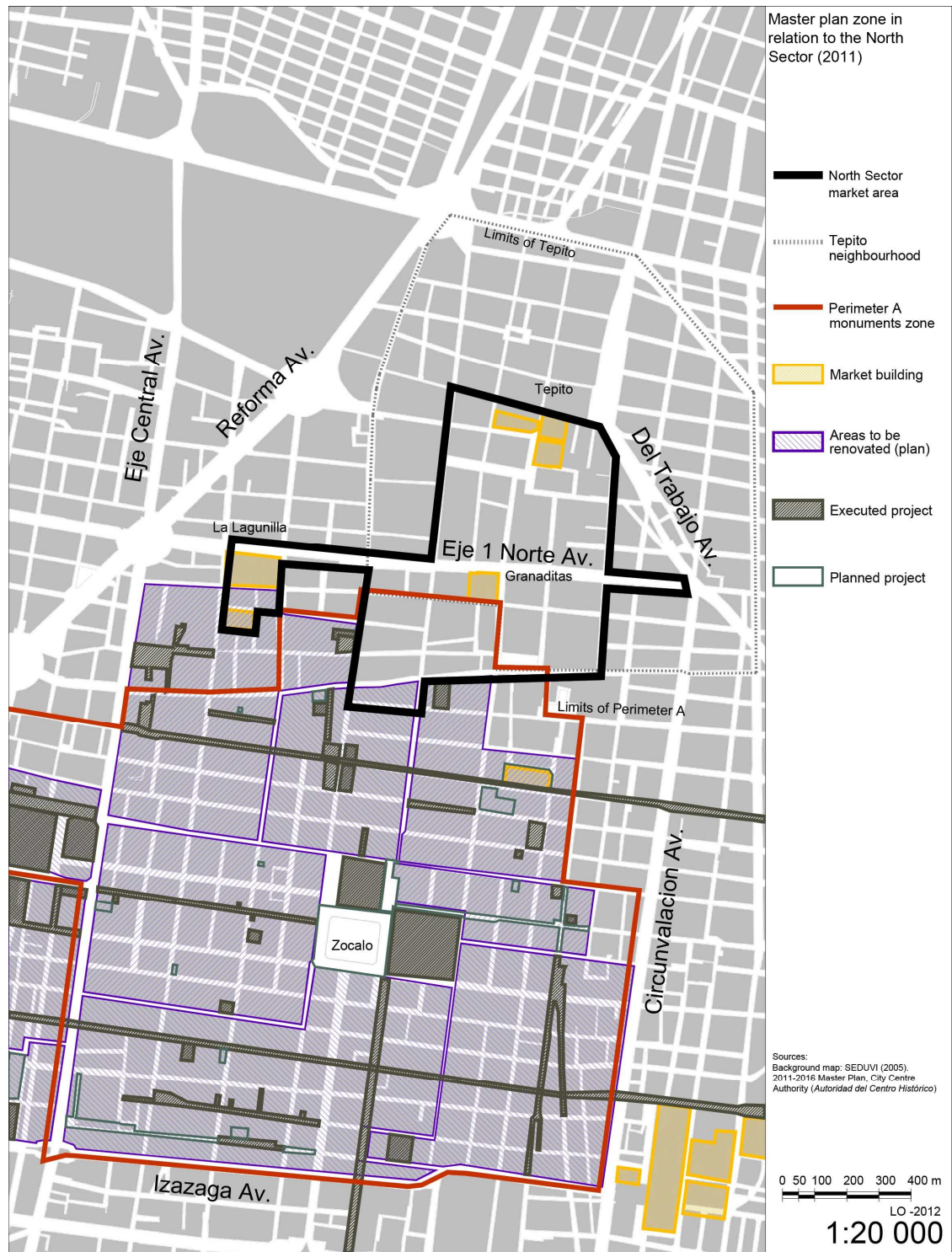
The planning approach applied to the city centre focuses exclusively on the Monuments' Area, while allowing the North Sector a more flexible, unplanned evolution. The master plan does not reflect the organisation of the territory in all its complexity; namely, it does

⁷⁸ The trust was created in 1990 during the Camacho Solís administration. Initially, the Institution's objective was to manage the projects in the Historic Centre Monuments' Area, which were financed with public funds. In 2002, it was transformed into a public-private institution in charge of managing the resources from the city government and private investors. Carlos Slim, one of the richest persons in Mexico, is one of the most important investors in the city centre. Actually, the mission of this institution is to implement the Revitalisation Plan approved in 2002 and carry out the design and execution of the projects. In the 2002-2011 period, the Historic Centre Trust invested a total of 560 million MXN pesos (28 million GBP) in the city centre, while the city government invested directly a total of 1,442 million MXN pesos (72 million GBP) to rehabilitate the streets (Rosalba Garza et al. 2011). The investment corresponded to the rehabilitation of a total of 55 buildings, 1,037 facades, 40 squares and public spaces and 250,000 m² of streets (Rosalba Garza et al. 2011).

⁷⁹ In 2007, the city government created the Historic Centre Authority to prepare and execute a Management Plan for the 'Perimeter A', the last version of the plan corresponds to the 2011-2016 period; it is called Management Plan, but it mainly works as a master plan. The main task of this institution is to coordinate actions between institutions to implement the plan. The Management Plan mentions that 19,500 street traders have been relocated to the *plazas*, but it doesn't address the functioning of the territory as a commercial area nor the relation between the core area and the North Sector.

⁸⁰ The Public Space Authority was created in 2008 to carry out strategic projects of the Revitalisation Plan. This institution renovates public squares in Perimeter A, especially those spaces that require a qualitative design. In fact, a total of 28 squares have been renovated in the 2002-2011 period, five by the Public Space Authority.

not acknowledge the existence of a metropolitan scale market area a few blocks north, and the kind of relations, tensions and interactions that might occur between these two areas.



Map 13 Historic Centre 2011-2016 Master Plan

The role of the city authorities in the production of the marketplace concerns the empowerment of the street vendors as political actors, and the spatial consolidation of the North Sector as a commercial area. The city government implemented policies that were insensible to the logics of street vending. In addition, the relocation programmes were poorly designed, and as a consequence the authorities were forced to delegate management tasks to the vendors themselves and to allow them to stay in the streets. Hence, the negotiations with authorities empowered the vendor unions, especially the leaders. The ambiguous nature of the law that 'at the same time allows and disallows' the activity was an efficient way to resolve the contradictions of the policies in the short term. However, in the long term it revealed its inefficiency to tackle the problem in a realistic way. The construction of the closed markets and *plazas* reinforced the commercial activities in the area.

4.2 The role of the street vendors

This section explores the role street vendors played in consolidating a political power. I conduct a review of the ASVA (Aztecas Street Vendors' Association) over time, and focus on the position of the group and the actions and strategies that the union adopted in response to the initiatives of the authorities. Concurrently, I analyse how the Aztecas street market become more organised and started to use the street for the market permanently. The idea explored in this part is that street vendors are active actors in the process of the production of space. They are able to organise and mobilise to defend their interests, and can develop political abilities and capacities to manage the streets over time, becoming 'street producers'.

4.2.1 The incipient organisation of street vendors (1950s and 1960s)

Aztecas Street was occupied by some street vendors in the 1950s; they used to sell near El Carmen church, the *Plaza del Estudiante* square and Apartado Street. The activity was more 'nomadic', street vendors moved from one place to another randomly searching for clients. The Granaditas market was built in 1957 to relocate the street traders in the area. Many shoemakers, especially from Tepito, were relocated to this market. The market became an important commercial hub and new street vendors were attracted to the area.

Tony, leader of ASVA, was a street vendor in the surroundings of the Granaditas market; she was not eligible to get a place in the closed market as she was a minor; she continued as a street vendor in the nearby streets.

After the construction of the market in 1957, the street vendors were not allowed to continue selling in the streets. Tony continued selling, despite repression from the police, as she did not have any alternative solution to make a living. She had to hide from the police; neighbours and shop owners, and other vendors wherever they could, helped her by allowing her to hide in their shops and houses.

Groups of vendors started moving together to better resist police repression. This was the origin of the street vendor organisation in the area. Groups of women started to organise themselves to help each other with their daily activities. Together they prepared food in the street, looked after the children, took care of the stalls while the vendors had to move for a while, etc. Solidarity and mutual help were the values that predominated within the groups.

Tony had a strong personality; she defended other women from the police and talked to them firmly making them notice how unfairly they treated people. In fact, the police used to take the vendors' goods and force them to stay in jail for weeks. Some of the vendors were single women with children who could not take care of them while in jail; other women vendors helped them in this situation. The street vendors explain that the city government was very insensible to their situation. A feeling of anger and frustration arose within the vendors' community towards the city government.

Tony became the natural leader of the group; members had great loyalty and respect for her, as she defended and supported other vendors beyond her personal interests. Many of the street vendor leaderships in the city centre emerged in this way. The street vendor organisations emerged as a response to the need of resisting police repression. Vendor group members became more coherent by helping each other in difficult situations; they developed values such as empathy, loyalty and solidarity.

During this period, the street vendors started what they call 'the fight' to claim their rights, in Spanish *La lucha*. They argue that they were treated like criminals, and that they were only trying to survive. The street vendor groups' position was openly against the city government, and against the law; which was neither respected nor legitimate.

4.2.2 The formation of the unions (1970s)

In the early 1970s, the Market Construction Programme was cancelled, the authorities recognised the unions that were affiliated to the PRI and tolerated their use of the streets. In exchange, the street traders were asked to participate in political demonstrations that benefited the PRI candidates to the federal government directly.

Tony and her group joined Guillermina Rico's union, the most powerful leader in the city centre, see Figure 33. Other groups in the Granaditas market area also joined G. Rico's union, who extended her 'territory' to the North Sector.

Guillermina Rico belonged to La Merced area, in the east sector of the city centre. She was relocated to the closed market in 1957, together with her family. They used to sell fruit in the market, but they started selling in the streets because the business was better. This leader had a great ability to negotiate with the police and the authorities; she became a renowned figure in the area⁸¹. She claimed that street vendors needed to sell in the streets to support their livelihoods; something essential for their survival. Guillermina defended other traders because she was convinced that their actions were legitimate as they were exercising their right to have a job and make a living; as a result, she was highly respected by the street vendors. Guillermina, as well as Tony, belonged to the group called '*Viejas maleteras*' which includes the women street vendors that for years have resisted in order to continue selling in the city centre streets; the name means 'women vendors carrying bags'.

Guillermina Rico was an important public figure in Mexico; she was loved and respected by the working classes, as she represented a hard worker fighting against adversity and trying to survive. She used to wear an apron and would spend a considerable amount of time in the streets with people; which contributed to the creation of her image as a person who defended the workers' interests. Her reputation was such that the president himself attended her funeral in 1996.

⁸¹ A total of 14 powerful groups controlled street vending in the city centre. The most important group was that of Guillermina Rico. She controlled Circunvalación Avenue, Academia and Soledad streets in the east sector; El Carmen, Colombia and Apartado in the north sector; and approximately 80% of the street traders in the city's historic centre (Cetepis 1988 archives).



Leader Guillermina Rico and members of the union
Source: A. Ziccardi - PUEC 2010

Figure 33 Leader Guillermina Rico

To control the area, Guillermina had people she could count on to organise the market streets. These people were mostly women, called '*comadres*', which means close friends. In local culture, the use of this word is a sign of a close relationship based on reliability and trust, as if the person referred to like this were a family member. Tony organised Aztecas Street, from Apartado to Costa Rica streets, in alliance with her *comadre*, Guillermina Rico.

The leaders of the groups claimed to be like any other member. In fact, vendors called themselves '*compañeros*', which means partner, with a connotation of 'peers'; vendor relations were supposedly not hierarchical. The leaders' role was to represent the interests of the group, not their own⁸². However, this situation was evolving rapidly as leaders were becoming more powerful and autonomous, to a certain extent, to make decisions with authorities without considering the members of the group.

Tony was able to negotiate tolerance from the authorities so that ASVA could continue using Aztecas Street. At the same time, in the 1970s, the area was increasing its commercial potential rapidly. In 1972, the *fayuca* market started to expand; in 1978, the major city avenues were constructed, including the widening of Eje 1 Norte Avenue that

⁸² During this period (1950s to the 1970s) there were many women leaders of the street traders, because they were the ones that resisted and defended fiercely their right to continue selling in the streets to make a living. It was more difficult for women to be integrated into the formal sectors of the economy, and street trading was an important survival strategy for them. This activity allowed them to look after their children and gave them certain flexibility to carry out other family functions. Nowadays, leaderships have evolved and leaders are not exclusively women.

connects the Tepito area with other city areas; the closed markets constructed in 1957 already had an established clientele; and a line 4 metro station, a 10 minute walk from Tepito, was already in operation. These factors contributed to the increase of the commercial potential of the market area.

In 1978, during the construction of the Zócalo metro station, the government found ruins of the Aztec temples and decided to create an archaeological site in the city centre core area that blocked the Seminario-Argentina Streets corridor, a street parallel to Aztecas. El Carmen-Aztecas Street became the major connection between the city centre and Tepito, creating a natural corridor, which increased the commercial value of the Aztecas street market. The street vendors, who had established themselves on Aztecas Street, took advantage of the tolerance granted by the authorities and of the commercial opportunity recently created by the changing conditions of the area in order to consolidate the street market.

‘We started selling. We used milk cans, recycled Nido milk cans, to display the goods; afterwards we used other kinds of cans, taller ones; then metallic structures like beds; and then stalls that we had to install and dismantle every day. The market evolved from a more mobile form of vending to a more permanent one’ (LO notes from the field trip, interview with Victoria 2/12/2010).

The market became a more permanent activity during the 1970s. The value that the street was acquiring is important to understand the groups’ interest to territorialise the area and defend the place from other groups that might be interested in the area. After the unions had been formed and the authorities had decided to tolerate the vendors, they were more secure. They still had some difficulties to sell, especially because of the weather. The leaders of ASVA explained that they had to protect the goods while it was raining or that they had to remain long hours under the sun. These hard conditions were still part of the hardships that street vendors had to endure to carry out their activity. The experience of living a time of hardships while consolidating the market is an argument that vendors use to legitimate their current appropriation of space: ‘we built the market with our own effort, so it is our market, our own creation’ (notes from the field, interview with Victoria 2/12/2010).

The creation of the unions helped the street vendors to increase their political abilities and power; they were able to negotiate more tolerance to be allowed to continue using the streets. After they were granted the ‘right’ to use the streets, even if in a temporary

basis and with no legal frame, the vendors had the opportunity to consolidate the street market and take advantage of the area's commercial opportunities.

4.2.3 The consolidation of the Aztecas street market (1980s)

In 1980, the Historic Centre Monuments' Zone (Perimeter A) was nominated a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. Aztecas Street, from Apartado to Costa Rica streets, was included within the perimeter. In fact, the Aztecas street market is between the two areas, the Monuments' Zone and Tepito. The authorities asked the ASVA vendors to move out; in response, the ASVA mobilised to defend the street market against eviction. The ASVA was able to survive by joining the Confederation of Traders of the Tepito street market, an organisation formed by 62 local unions. Furthermore, Tepito street vendors were mainly members of the local community, contrary to those in the city centre who came from other sites, especially from the eastern part of the metropolitan area⁸³. Local vendors were able to increase their legitimacy to use the streets as support of their livelihoods. This is another reason why Tepito was able to continue using the streets in this manner.

Aztecas Street is the 'front' of the street market for customers walking from the city centre, which is why the Tepito traders were interested in helping ASVA to continue using the street as a market place. The Tepito organisations were already powerful and able to mobilise and to exert pressure on the decisions made by the authorities. The authorities agreed to keep Aztecas Street as a street market even when it is located in the UNESCO Monuments' Zone, where such activity is prohibited.

In the aftermath of the 1985 earthquake, street trading expanded quickly in the area and became a major activity in the city centre, especially in La Merced area and in the North Sector. The authorities were in a difficult political position to repress the activity, especially while the population was still suffering the effects of the 1982 economic crisis and the 1985 natural disaster.

In the late 1980s, street vending was getting out of control. In 1989, there were a total of 8,905 street traders from 40 different organisations in the Tepito market⁸⁴. The biggest

⁸³ 75% of the street vendors in Tepito were local residents in the early 1980s (Arregui Solano et al. 1982).

⁸⁴ The 1982 UNAM research counted a total of 4,985 street traders in the Tepito market area. Presumably, this number corresponds to the number of stalls and not to the number of traders (Arregui Solano et al. 1982).

organisation was represented by Miguel Galán, which had a total of 846 members. The ASVA had 340 street traders; it was a medium-size one. In the city centre, Guillermina Rico was the most powerful leader with 5,087 street traders in her union, out of the 7,212 street vendors sitting in the city centre core area. Alejandra Barrios, one of the current powerful leaders, represented 833 street traders. (Cetepis 1989 archives).

The leaderships in Tepito were different than those in the city centre. In Tepito, leaders had more power than street vendors, but they still had to respond to the interests of the traders they represent, as their political power relied on their support; otherwise they risked replacement by another leader. However, the street vendors in Tepito were organised in a less centralised way.

In this decade, Aztecas Street was already the most important commercial corridor in the North Sector; there were approximately 1,000 street traders in 260 linear meters (Arregui Solano et al. 1982). The market was comprised of semi-permanent metallic stalls which allowed the vendors to better display and protect their goods; vendors had to remove the structures every day from the streets. As the market got a more permanent vending form the stalls started specialising in clothes and accessories to render the market more attractive to customers coming to the Granaditas market to buy shoes.

The political structure of the Tepito market was becoming stronger and more resilient because it was based on a community organisation, even when the unions were tending towards a hierarchical structure. In the city centre the leaderships were highly centralised and vendors had a weaker relation to space as they mostly came from other parts of the metropolitan area.

This part showed that the North Sector market was able to consolidate over time and become a more permanent structure. The process of consolidation is related to the political ability to organise into unions and to work together to implement a commercial strategy.

4.2.4 The political crises and the street vending reorganisation (1990s)

The city government faced political instability in the aftermath of the 1985 earthquake as a result of their priorities being centred on the national economy rather than on people's needs, especially those of the poor. Social movements arose that claimed the need of a democratic government in the city, which in turn created a political crisis.

At the same time, street vending was expanding quickly and was almost getting out of control; this was unpopular for the city government, especially for the middle and upper classes. In this context, C. Solís changed the legislation by prohibiting street vending in the city centre and negotiated with the street vendor leaders to move the vendors out of the area in 1993. This was a difficult period for street vending in the city centre.

The alternative that the city government offered was to give plots to the unions so that the vendors could build a *plaza* and relocate themselves. Street vendors did not want to move from the streets, they were not prepared to become market vendors. Many local vendors used their social connections to get a place in the streets in less contested areas, such as the North Sector. The case of the relocation of some street vendors from Colombia Street to Aztecas Street is a good example of the kind of strategies that the vendors adopted.

In 1994, Colombia Street, two blocks away from the city centre main square, was cleaned out of traders. The group was organised by Guillermina Rico, partner of the leader of ASVA, Tony. Guillermina asked Tony to accept some of the vendors from Colombia. Tony accepted and implemented a strategy known in Tepito as 'unfolding', which means that the market occupies another row of vendors in the street with no official permission and remains in the place day and night to prevent the police from taking the street back. This was decided very quickly after the evictions started taking place in Colombia. The 'bring anything you can' word spread to the vendors in order to occupy Aztecas street, as the leader was 'unfolding' and assigning new places to sell. Tomas, one of the key informants of this research, and his family were selling in Colombia Street. Tony, who was their neighbour, told them to get a place in Aztecas Street. This is how many of the vendors from Colombia arrived to Aztecas, especially those that had connections to the leaders or to the vendors already selling in that place. After the Aztecas street market unfolded, it occupied three rows of vendors on each side of the street, covering almost the total surface of the sidewalks and clearing only narrow corridors, which were not even enough for pedestrians to pass.

In the case of the ASVA, the leaders negotiated with the authorities to be able to continue using the streets. But some of the leaders accepted the *plazas* in exchange of moving the vendors out of the streets. Street vendors felt betrayed by their leaders. In other cases, city authorities provided the *plazas* and also permission to use the streets in the surroundings of the city centre. One example is the leader Alejandra Barrios, who was removed from the main square into the *Plaza Pino Suárez*, one of the most successful

plazas in the area. In addition, she got Argentina Street and part of Eje 1 Avenue, both of which are important commercial corridors in the North Sector. She became one of the most powerful leaders in the area.

Guillermina Rico became ill during this period due to the stressful situation with the authorities and died in 1996. After her death, many leaders emerged and the political structure of the street vendors was split into several groups. Street traders offered political support to candidates of the PRI and PRD political parties in exchange for their help to consolidate the street market in the area. The PRD promised a more comprehensive approach to the people's needs; therefore, many of the street vendor groups joined this political party, as was the case of the ASVA.

Tony, the leader of the ASVA, also got sick after developing diabetes during this period. Her daughters explain that this period was difficult for the group; sometimes, the vendors stayed day and night in the street to prevent other groups from taking their selling places. Also during this time, the city government gave permission to Tepito groups to occupy the streets in the city centre and city centre groups to occupy Tepito. This was a strategy the city government implemented to create conflict between groups and weaken the street vendor organisations (Crossa 2011). The ASVA stayed in Aztecas Street, but the street was threatened by other groups who wanted to appropriate that space. The transition towards a democratic election for the city government was a period of reorganisation of street vending.

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas from the PRD, a left-wing political party, was elected city mayor in 1997. The vendor groups who supported this party were able to secure the streets they occupied. However, after the dismantlement of the centralised leaderships, new groups of vendors emerged and the competition for the vending areas increased. The city government promoted competition between groups as a strategy to prevent the creation of centralised, powerful leaderships as has happened in the past with Guillermina Rico. Another factor that promoted competition between groups was the fact that some were allied to local government, namely to the Cuauhtémoc borough; while others were connected to the city government. In the case of ASVA, Tony and her daughters were allied with the city government while Alejandra Barrios, who controlled the nearby streets, was allied with the local government. Local leaderships were both from the PRD but were linked to different cliques.

The organisation of ASVA started changing as it became more stable in both political and spatial terms. The ASVA group was a kind of extended family for many members; it was a

community based organisation. Tony was respected and loved by vendors because she had helped them during difficult times. The group used to organise festivities like a pilgrimage to Chalma, the second most-important pilgrimage site in Mexico, to ask for protection and good fortune for their businesses. They also celebrated Tony's birthday and other traditional parties like *Las Posadas* at Christmas. The members used to help each other during their daily routines and financially for funerals or loans, or when a member was ill. Vendors did not receive any help from the state or banks, so they relied on their organisation to support them in difficult situations. Progressively, the organisation became more an individual and business oriented organisation, and the festivities were suppressed. This occurred after new members joined the group in 1994 when the 'unfolding' took place. At that time, the ASVA had a more permanent market in the street and vendors were expanding their businesses and starting to increase their profit. Vendors relied less on each other to carry out their vending activities. However, new vendors were focused on expanding their businesses rather than on creating a community organisation. Members of the ASVA were interested in working together as a union to secure their businesses, but the group had lost its social organisation as a community. Vendors continued to work together to make the market more efficient and to help each other, but they did not create social bonds beyond the commercial organisation.

This part shows that the street vendor unions had become highly resilient over time; they were able to overcome many difficulties and even take advantage of adversity. The ASVA was able to resist eviction in the early 1990s by joining the Confederation of the Tepito Market. The ASVA was able to maintain control over the area when other vending groups emerged by organising to stay in the street days and nights. Finally, the leaders were able to establish new political alliances with the emerging PRD political party during the democratic transition of the city government. These political alliances were important to secure continued access to the street and to foster the consolidation of the street market.

4.2.5 Aztecas street market as a permanent structure (2000s)

In 2005, the city government accepted the construction of a permanent structure that covers 210 linear meters along Aztecas Streets. The structure was the result of the negotiations between the city authorities, namely López Obrador from PRD, and the leaders of the association. The structure was designed by a local vendor, Carlos, who had studied architecture, and financed by the vendors themselves. City authorities accepted

the construction of the structure in exchange for the support that the unions had given to the PRD, and also as a political strategy to facilitate the implementation of an ambitious project to renovate the historic centre's monuments' zone⁸⁵.

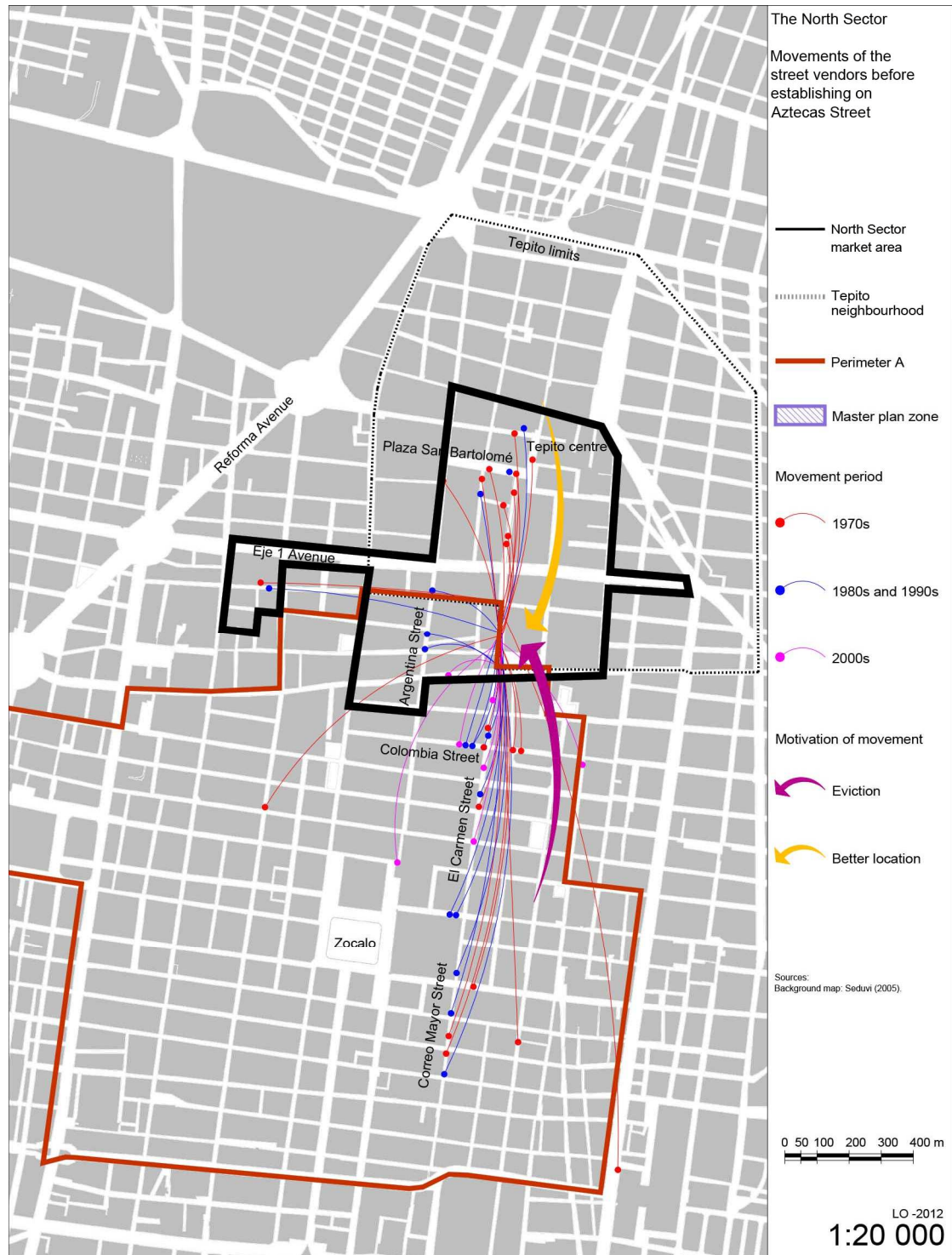
The physical consolidation of the street market as a permanent structure can be considered an expression of the group's power to control and to give physical form to space. The columns of the structure are used to delimit vending spaces in a precise and permanent manner. This changes the perception the vendors have of the place, as if it were theirs. The permanence of the market has also contributed to providing security to the street traders, who now feel less vulnerable to evictions and can see their businesses in a longer perspective of time. Victoria, a leader of the ASVA, said during an interview: 'Now street vendors want the land tenure of the space they occupy in the streets, we must constantly remind them that we are working on the public thoroughfare and that the street does not belong to us; but, for them, it is not clear' (LO notes on interview held on 21/12/2010). This shows that the consolidation of the market, in spatial terms, brought changes in the way the market is perceived by the vendors as if it were their own creation.

Street vendors believe that the market in the street, delimited by the structures that they have constructed and paid for, belongs to them. They can rent it out or sell it as a private property even though they know the land is of the public domain. Vendors tend to conceive the street market as 'a product' that they built over time with their own investment and effort. The moments of hardship and struggle provide a sense of legitimacy to their activities, even the renting out of the street. They consider that they are renting out their property and believe that this is legitimate because it is a way of receiving compensation for what they have built over time.

Map 14 shows how the Aztecas street market, from Apartado to Costa Rica streets, was consolidated over time. Two main spatial dynamics predominate throughout the process: vendors from the Tepito core area move south in search of a better commercial location in Aztecas Street, especially in the 1970s; and vendors evicted from the 'Perimeter A' move to Aztecas, especially from the Correo Mayor-El Carmen corridor and Colombia and Argentina streets. The map shows that Aztecas Street was consolidated by the street vendors that were evicted from the central areas. The analysis shows that there is a

⁸⁵ Diane Davis (2007) argues that L. Obrador was able to implement the rehabilitation project in the city centre because he was able to negotiate with local stakeholders, namely the market leaders, and the capital investors interested in the development of the area.

relation between the area from where the vendors were removed and the one where they find a space to re-establish their business; in this perspective, studies on street vending require a larger territorial understanding of the phenomenon beyond specific perimeters.



Map 14 Street vendors' moving to the Aztecas Street market

The city government facilitated plots where the street vendors could build *plazas* and they tolerated the street markets located in less contested territories. The street vendors established in these areas ‘unfolded’, or doubled their numbers, after receiving the vendors from the restricted areas, for the most part those of ‘Perimeter A’. Some territories near Eje 1 Avenue were negotiated as market places although they were within this Perimeter. A connection can be established between the vendors’ eviction in the central streets and the expansion of the street markets in the North Sector. No planning tools guided the process; the consolidation of the street markets was achieved by the initiatives of the street vendors, the leaders’ capacity to negotiate and the informal permission granted by the authorities.

The historic review of the ASVA experience and the consolidation of the Aztecas Street market highlighted the active role of the traders, especially the leaders’, in mobilising, creating alliances with different actors and organising internally. I support the argument that authorities and street vendors, both, had an active role in building the unions’ power and capacities. The review also emphasised the relationship between the political consolidation of the union and its capacity to give a permanent form to the street market. The spatial consolidation of the market is, however, a different process and cannot be explained only from a political perspective; details about this are provided in Chapter 5.

4.3 Integrated management structure and the form of the streets

This part explores the way the marketplace is managed and how the ‘form of management’ gives a specific ‘social form’ to the streets. I avoided using the categories ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ that would tend to separate the regulatory frames and the tasks of the formal institutions from the street vendors’ organisation. I chose a holistic perspective to look at how the management structure, formed by both authorities and vendors, operates in an integrated way. The integrated management structure works as a mechanism that, over time, ‘reproduces’ the kind of relation that the street vendors maintain with space, particularly their ‘space production’ capacity.

I explore three levels of city management: Aztecas street, Cuauhtémoc borough and city central government. I give insights of the institutions involved in the process, and the tasks and duties carried out by each; considering the role of the government institutions and of the vendors’ leaders. I focus on how leaders acquire *de facto* authority to make a

wide range of decisions about the operation of the street market, re-shaping the form of the street and thus becoming 'city producers'.

4.3.1 City government level

Street vending in Mexico City is actually illegal from a regulatory framework standpoint, especially in the historic centre's UNESCO monuments' zone (Perimeter A). As mentioned before, the regulatory frame is ambiguous, and is used as it was more convenient for the moment.

From a legal perspective, the city government does not have the responsibility to create institutions and planning tools to address street vending as the activity is illegal, thus it is not supposed to exist. On the other hand, the city government created an institution at city level to run the street vendors Relocation Programme. This institution is the Undersecretariat of Special Programmes for Boroughs (SPD, with letters taken from the name in Spanish), which operates directly under the Secretariat of City Government one of the highest institutions at city level.

The mission of the SPD is to design city policies that address street vending and to provide a set of guidelines that can be implemented by the boroughs at the local level. However, policies regarding vendors have not been changed since the activity was prohibited in 1951. In practical terms, the institution is an executive body in charge of the expropriation of suitable plots in the city centre and of the preparation of the administrative procedures to provide the unions a ten-year grant of use over such plots so that they build a *plaza*. In many cases, the plots are given to the leaders as bribes so that, on behalf of the union, they sign the removal of the vendors from the streets. As explained before, the vending places in the *plazas*, in most cases, do not fit the street vendors' logic. As shown by research conducted in relation to the *plazas*, street vendors tend to return to the streets (Stamm 2005). For this reason, the leaders negotiate 'alternative territories' in less contested areas with the authorities to relocate the street vendors. The negotiation of these 'alternative streets' takes place out of formal regulations, even though formal institutions are involved, especially the Markets Office of the local municipality in coordination with the city government.

In fact, contrary to what is expected from regulations, street vending does exist to a large extent. Therefore, the street market requires management tasks such as define the areas vendors can occupy, allocate individual spaces, decide who can use better locations, etc.

In the case of the North Sector these tasks are carried out by different stakeholders, some by the city government and others, most of them, directly by the unions.

The city authorities at city and local levels negotiate the areas that unions can occupy in the streets with the leaders. The political strategy, especially that of the city government, is to maintain certain control of the power that certain groups acquire by ensuring continued competition between unions that are related to different political groups. These groups are called '*grupos de choque*' or 'shock groups'. The ASVA, for example, is supported directly by the city mayor; however, the occupation of the streets requires the agreement of the local government (interview with the leaders 29/12/2011). The ASVA neighbour group, led by Alejandra Barrios, is supported by the Head of the Cuauhtémoc borough, Agustín Torres, (in 2011). In fact, territorial negotiation depends on the political networks that each union has.

The Office (SPD) doesn't have any territorial jurisdiction; it does not have authority over space. The SPD cannot collect any information directly from the streets nor can it evict the vendors. This institution is supposed to design adequate solutions to address street vending, but it doesn't have reliable information or a deep understanding of local dynamics in order to carry out this kind of important tasks.

The list of the street vendors is submitted to the municipality office by the union leaders, and the municipality office in turn submits the total number to the SPD. Marco Aguirre, from the Public Information Office at the SPD says that the information they have is completely unreliable (interview held on 8/11/2010). He argues that both the vendors and the municipality tend to exaggerate the official number of vendors in order to legitimise the occupation of the streets as a means to create employment and to increase their political power. Some years before, the SPD tried to implement a system called 'SISCOVIP' (which is the Spanish acronym for Public Thoroughfare Trade System) in order to collect data and to understand the tendencies and the distribution of vendors at city level. This information system, although very modern, was never used as data was not available.

In summation, the SPD is an institution that carries out specific tasks without challenging the way street vending is addressed. The SPD it is a technocratic office implementing directly the decisions made by the city government. It could be in charge of designing policies and tools that would allow dealing better with street vending, but this is not its function.

I argue that it is through this institution that the current planning structure works in favour of the system's current status quo. The gaps in the formal regulation and in the management are exploited by informal arrangements and by the authorities that formulate their own structures and codes. These codes address specific political and commercial interests and clearly favour the commercial system, which is able to manage and give a physical form to the streets, but do not take into account the voice of other actors like residents, pedestrians, city planners, etc., who are important to maintain the city character of the space; in other words, a social milieu.

Literature on sustainable systems suggests that resilient institutions, those which are able to learn and adapt to changing circumstances, are needed in order to embrace change without compromising territories; in this case, commercial 'exploitation' (Holling and Folke 2003). These authors don't use the word exploitation; I use it in the sense of using space to a large extent to make money by renting it out or by using it for businesses, preventing other non-monetary uses to take place. The argument here is that 'bureaucratic' institutions don't lead to the sustainable management of the streets and they perpetuate 'bad practices' such as promoting space to become instrumental to commercial and political interests.

4.3.2 Local government level

The local government is highly influenced by the leaders of the street vendor unions, such that it is almost impossible to dissociate the political and market networks. For example, Alejandra Barrios, one of the most influential leaders in the North Sector since the Camacho Solís administration, who controls 7,000 vendors⁸⁶, is now a city level legislator. She supported Agustín Torres, Head of the Cuauhtémoc Borough (2006-2012), to get into office, and designated Alejandro Camacho Head of the Information Office. During an interview with Alejandro, he talked openly about these connections (interview held on 12/11/2010). He was the journalist who worked with Alejandra to cover a violent conflict with another leader from Tepito, María Rosete. The relations between politicians and vendors show that leaders advance through pursuing ambitious political careers and controlling key positions in the local government.

At the municipal level, the Markets Office plays an important role in the management of the street markets. I was not able to get an interview with the person responsible at the

⁸⁶ The number of vendors was taken from Ziccardi – PUEC, 2010.

office, even after insisting repeatedly and asking other officials like Marco Aguirre from SPD to help me by asking a favour of the appropriate person. The information gap was bridged by looking at the archives of the 1988-1993 administration. These archives were kindly provided by Alfonso Hernández, Director of the Centre for Tepito Studies. He was the Head of the Markets Office during the Camacho Solís administration. The archives of the Markets Office disappear after every administration because the informal arrangements with the vendors shouldn't exist. Alfonso kept the archives for the Centre for Tepito Studies. The archives are usually used by the street vendors as evidence to prove that they belong to a local organisation; it had rarely been used for research.

The main task of the Markets Office is to maintain the registry of the unions' members. The registry includes the streets the unions occupy, and the names and signatures of the street vendors. Vendors provide a photocopy of their Voter's Registration Card (IFE), an official ID. The information is collected by the leaders and is submitted directly to the Head of the Markets Office. No further cross checking is done by the municipality. The information doesn't correspond to the real organisation of the market for two reasons. The first is that the market, even if now permanent, is still changing; and the second is that the stalls are divided into several vending places, each of which is assigned to different people, but sometimes used by only one person. For example, stall 141, which belongs to Tomas, is assigned to three different people: Tomas, his father and his grandfather; but the stall is actually only run by Tomas, himself. This division is useful in the case of stalls run by families, and also to increase the number of registered vendors. Hence, the registry doesn't correspond to the actual number of vendors in the streets.

The municipality defines and controls the area that the unions occupy. The borough has territorial jurisdiction in the North Sector with the exception of 'Perimeter A', which is managed directly by the Historic Centre Authority, which in turn operates directly under the city government. The unions have a registry with the names of the street vendors that sell in their area, which is used by the Markets Office in the Cuauhtémoc borough to create the official database. The registry is an official document, signed by the municipality, but, at the same time, it is informal as street vending is illegal. Aside from the existence of this registry, the municipality does not have a precise idea of who is occupying the streets and the spatial distribution of the places. This creates a gap in the information that the municipality obtains, which can be considered 'second-hand'. The responsibility for the collection of information, a critical aspect of the management of streets, rests with the unions' leaders. Direct access to the information gives autonomy to

the unions, but it also increases the vendors' power to organise 'their' territories as it better fits their commercial interests, or to rent them out or sell them.

Conflicts between vendors are solved by the unions, especially by the leaders. In rare cases, individual vendors or groups address directly to the Markets Office, they only do it when there is a conflict between two organisations. The Markets Office in these cases deals with the conflict and tries to find a suitable solution. Tension over territories is common and can be violent. I followed a case where a group of street vendors accused the leader of wanting to displace some of them from the street. To defend themselves they stayed in the street and, when the leader arrived, there was a violent confrontation between them. In cases like this, the Markets Office intervenes to solve the conflict and re-define the territories if necessary. Another kind of conflict that the Office commonly faces is the one between vendors and residents. In the North Sector, this kind of conflict is minimised as the vendors are, in many cases, also community members; conflicts are solved between the actors without the need of the intervention of the office.

Based on this evidence, the Markets Office conducts management tasks based on informal frameworks; it allocates specific territories to the street vendor unions, which I qualify as an irresponsible practice. Furthermore, the Office grants authority to the unions, especially to the leaders, in order that they organise the street markets of their own will. The only restrictions the unions have is to respect the area they have been assigned to and to project a certain image of order continuously. The kind of people using the streets, the goods they sell and the rentals or sales of the vending places are practices completely out of regulation or control.

These local government practices fit Emilio Duhau's idea about the ambivalent use of authority, discussed in the theory chapter (Duhau et al. 2008). In this case, the local authorities give territories to private users without regulatory frameworks, but also promote the leaders as decision-makers on the uses of the streets, which is highly questionable. Basically, the local government is using its authority to promote leaders as 'city producers'. This helps the street vending system to expand together with its positive and negative effects. On one hand, producing employment and a dynamic informal economy; but on the other, reducing the communities' spaces for social life and undermining the social relations that are developed in public spaces, which are important to define a 'city' as such.

During an interview, Victoria, a leader of the ASVA, mentioned that she had to immediately rush to the street one day when the authorities tried to remove the vendors

from Aztecas Street. The way she told the story suggested the implicit code that the municipality does not have the authority to remove the street vendors without the approval of the leader. I asked Victoria what would happen if the municipality removed the vendors without her permission, and which could be the consequences in that case. She answered that the vendors would not move from the place without her intervention; they would only leave if she asked them to. In the case when the authorities wanted to use the force, the leader could ask the other unions for support, which would mobilise to help the threatened group. As local vendors say, there are clear rules in the streets; breaking them can be highly problematic for the actors involved, even for the authorities. I argue that these highly established codes, informal because they are not regulated, are mechanisms that perpetuate the power and control that the unions have over space.

4.3.3 Street scale authorities

The way management tasks are structured, especially by the local government, place the trader leaders as authorities at street level. The role of leaders and vendors was defined over time through the interaction of the authorities with the leaders. Over time, these interactions have formed a highly specific system of codes that defines the roles, tasks and limits that concern each of the actors of the management structure. In this part, I look at the leaders' and vendors' position, tasks and decisions they can make regarding the street and the market.

As mentioned before, once an area is given to the union, members can decide who can sell in the streets, the distribution and the allocation of spaces. This is an internal process and varies from one group to another. In fact, when two different unions occupy a street, it is frequent to find one side of the street more organised and clean than the other. The leaders can negotiate the use of some extra centimetres beyond the 'working area' with the authorities, which in some cases is accepted, but the permission is negotiated on a daily basis and depends on current circumstances. This shows that some aspects are clearly defined such as the 'working areas', but the system allows some room for manoeuvre to negotiate smaller concessions on a daily basis.

The physical appearance of the street market is particularly important for the municipality. The local government asks the unions to improve the organisation of the market in terms of garbage collection, the way goods are displayed, respect for the limits of the area, etc. Authorities pressure the leaders to pay particular attention to these

aspects; otherwise, they can take the areas away from the unions, or punish the group by preventing them from using the street for some days, which in reality rarely occurs.

The management tasks of the leaders sometimes overlap those of the municipality. For example, during the electric grid repair in Aztecas Street, the municipality asked the leaders of the ASVA to coordinate the work in the streets, which is a task that corresponds to the municipality. Thus, the leaders play a role as street managers, in some cases beyond the organisation of the vendors, in order to facilitate the tasks of the formal institutions as a kind of 'favour'.

Each union organises meetings to discuss the markets' issues, as major decisions require the agreement of most members so that they can be considered by the city government. However, the leaders have the authority to make certain decisions on behalf of the members; for example, set the amount of the weekly fee collected directly by leaders. To legitimise their actions, they try to inform the members and make decisions by consulting them in their meetings; this is evidence of their political ability, not only to mediate with authorities, but also to mediate tensions and interests within the union. The leaders also organise social activities, such as parties and festivities, and '*tandas*' (group saving pools), which is the unions' system of savings that can be used to provide financial support to the vendors. They save a weekly amount of money, and when they need some money or after a certain amount of time, they receive their savings all at once. Street vendors don't have social protection, so in case of an emergency they could find themselves in trouble. They have developed this kind of system as a way to promote savings and to have an alternative source of support in case of need.

Some of the leaderships are inherited and others emerge during times of political reorganisation. In the case of the ASVA, the leadership has been inherited from generation to generation. Tony gave her daughters this responsibility. At some point this was contested by other members of the union, but Tony's daughters' political power was already consolidated. In fact the leaders establish relations with city authorities and cliques; this requires time and personal investment. It is difficult for other members of the union, who only work as street vendors, to become leaders of the union. The main source of power of the leaders relies on their political connections, which ensures their position in the group. It is worth to consider that city administrations only last a six-year period in power, while the leaders remain in power for longer periods. The leaders are in a suitable position to be able to consolidate both the unions' political power and the physical form of the street market over longer periods of time.

There are women and men leaders, and the role they play within the structure is not affected by their gender, they have equal control of their areas and face the street conflicts in Tepito in similar ways. However, gender is a variable, and the difficulties they may face and the relations they establish with other leaders and vendors are not the same. Women leaders have developed strong personalities through their daily experiences in the streets.

Leaders establish collaborative relations with neighbours as a strategy to minimise the negative effects of the market in the neighbourhood. They also use their political connections to work as intermediaries between residents and the local government. For example, the street market attracts thieves because clients bring cash to spend in the market. In Aztecas Street there is a public school and thieves used to get in through the windows and hide inside the school. The school principal complained to the ASVA leaders, who decided to collect money among the vendors to install metallic protections on the windows in order to prevent the thieves from getting in. The school administration and the ASVA were satisfied with the solution. The street vendors build relations with local groups, which can be considered an ability to manage conflict and create bonds with local actors in order to compensate them for their appropriation of the street and build legitimacy.

The distribution of the sitting places is organised by the unions. Space in Aztecas St. was allocated for the first time through an internal process. In the case of the ASVA, the leaders got the street corners, which are privileged places for commercial activities. The 'original vendors', who had been sitting in Aztecas St. for a long time, were also given good locations. Vendors considered that the process was fair to a certain extent, since the leaders had negotiated with the authorities and so they deserved better places. Allocation of space is a difficult task, space is highly contested and sitting places have different commercial potential. The fact that the unions themselves organise the allocation reduces the municipality's political risks, but at the same time it decreases the authorities' control of the street vendors' distribution and practices on space.

Street vendors decide, independently, the kind of goods they distribute in the market. Leaders do not interfere with the individual businesses, even if goods are illegal such as pirated copies of CDs. In some cases, problems within the vendors arise because one vendor may start selling a new product and doing good business, but later others may start selling the same thing. Then they are forced to establish a price and share the clients. In these cases, the leader helps to solve the conflict, which is not an easy task. The

leaders are frequently threatened; managing the situation requires a strong character and courage. Carmen, one of the leaders of the ASVA, explained that she was once threatened with a gun for a conflict like this; she was scared, but she had to act as if she was in complete control of the situation (interview held on 02/12/2010). Being a leader is not an easy role, it requires multiple abilities, strength and character to make others respect them. Leaders are given privileges; presumably they make money from collecting the vendors' individual fees, but street vendors also recognise that not everyone can be a leader; they respect them for their courage.

At street level, the leaders' role is critical in the functioning of the system; on one hand, to organise the group internally and, on the other, to establish political alliances with the city authorities and with different groups within the neighbourhood. The leaders are to a certain extent 'urban caciques', but at the same time they need to win the loyalty of the street vendors. Hence, they have to respond to the traders' interests and needs. In fact, some of the important decisions are made through participatory processes, especially the allocation of spaces, which is one of the central interests of the street vendors. The places in the streets are allocated individually, and the street vendors have autonomy in the management of their stalls, the goods they sell and the commercial strategies they apply.

In summation, the market management structure is highly codified; tasks, roles and territories are clearly defined. The role of each actor and the limits to their autonomy are regulated by a set of local codes and mechanisms of enforcement. The way the integrated management structure is organised and the codes generated to regulate the market create different layers within the territory at street level. These layers are explored in the following part.

4.3.4 The street market as a multi-layer property

The physical spaces, controlled by each of the market authorities, are defined by a set of local codes and reproduced by the everyday management practices. This distribution creates a system of overlapping territories at street level: individual stalls, vendors' working areas, and public domain. At street scale, this creates an 'object' that has property divided into multiple levels, which means that, at the same time, the street is a public space, a collective asset, the unions' collective property and the individual vendor's personal property. This complex construct renders the market a multi-layer property, structured in space in a particular and very precise way.

The first layer of property corresponds to the street vendors' sitting places, assigned individually as a specific area, as if this area was a private property. Allocation of a specific place is the vendors' main concern, as this is a way to secure their businesses, invest and grow. In the case of Aztecas Street, such places are 1.24 square meters in area. They are smaller than a stall, which at least has three vending places. In many cases, a stall is run by several members of a family, and the aforementioned division of space makes it possible for all the members involved to have their own place. The last process of 'formal' allocation took place during the early 1990s when the union 'unfolded' and occupied most of the street. Since then, vendors call themselves the 'original owners', *dueños originales* in Spanish. This process of allocation of space provided security to the original vendors to run their businesses, but it also promoted practices such as the renting out and selling of spaces in the streets. This means that the allocation process promoted the creation of an informal real estate market.

The leaders function as grantors of these transactions, which are registered in the unions' records, but are not shared with the authorities. There are conflicts related to the land tenure of the selling places, but they are rare. The unions have precise control over this issue to avoid internal conflicts. The leaders can help with the transaction process, but in general, each vendor or family makes its own arrangements, they only have to notify the leader. In the case of Aztecas St., 38% of the street stalls are rented out by the original owners; more details about this analysis are given in Chapter 5.

The second layer of property is the unions' 'working areas', *zonas de trabajo* in Spanish. These areas are defined by the local government in the terms of the negotiations with the multiple leaders of the area. The areas can be redefined in periods of political changes. In the case of Aztecas St., even during major political transitions, as was the case in the late 1990s, the union has maintained control of its territory; yet, not without conflict. That shows that certain groups can maintain 'jurisdiction' over their areas for long periods of time. The alliances established between the leaders and the different levels of the city government contribute to maintain the current territorialisation of space by street vendors.

The third level of property is the street as public domain. Despite the informal distribution of the streets, they remain collective property, the responsibility of the city government. In the case of Aztecas St., the spaces left for the basic functions of the street are reduced to the minimum. There are only two corridors for pedestrians on each side of the street and a central lane for vehicles, which is mostly used by mobile hawkers and

pedestrians. Figure 34 shows how the streets work as a multi-layered structure of property.

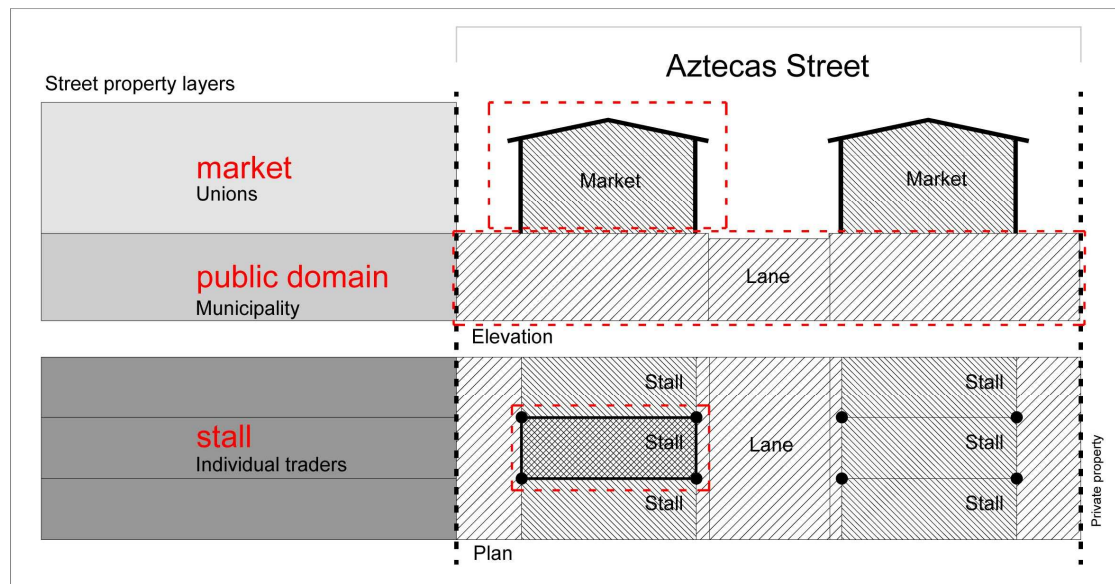


Figure 34 Nested territories on Aztecas Street

The acquisition of private land in the public domain is *per se* a contradiction. In the case of the North Sector, this contradiction is resolved by defining layers of property. Land is public domain, but the structures and social organisation beyond the surface are considered the property of the unions, while the specific stalls belong to the individual vendors, who can sell them or rent a place in the market. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the concept of 'private property' did not exist in Tepito until the native neighbourhood was dismantled in the late 19th century.

In Tepito, a local code was used to exchange land and other properties. The 'transfer', *traspaso* in Spanish, was a payment that compensated the use-value generated by the previous land or home tenant. Nowadays, in Tepito, this word is used to name the transactions related to the vending areas that take place in the streets, legitimising this kind of practices in the name of tradition. In practice, vending places work almost as private properties with the exception of not having official entitlement. Street land is sold, rented out or inherited. Furthermore, streets in Mexico, as in many other countries in the Global South, are codified by customary codes. Streets are flexible assets that can be used by individuals while maintaining their status as a 'common resource'. For example, wooden shacks and stalls were put up in the Tepito main square in early 20th century to help migrants to find a place to live, as shown in the historical review.

The current codification of the North Sector streets, I argue, is a hybrid between a modern conception of the public domain, one managed by a central authority, and an adaptation of customary codes. The major difference in this new codification is that street vendors render an asset that was working as a 'common resource' exclusive; thus, changing the nature of the streets into a 'shared asset'. They can do this because the management structure places the leaders in a position of street authorities, enforces new codes and prevents others from using the place. The way street vendors use space reinforces the idea that the place they occupy in the street is their property, in the same sense that any other asset, like a house or a car, is property. For example, street vendors have paid for the market structures, some of them pay rent, they spend a considerable amount of time at the stall, and they arrange the place to display their goods. Street vendors recodify the street through their conceptions and daily practices; and are able to do so because they are part of the power structure that regulates the street.

This last part of the Chapter, described how the market management structure works, and how it has been institutionalised by the city authorities themselves through informal negotiations with the leaders. The unions' leaders took advantage of a management gap in city planning, created as the market was becoming a permanent structure in the streets, even when the activity is considered illegal. The leaders take charge of the organisation of the street market with the complicity of the authorities, becoming 'street managers' and powerful authorities at the local level. The way the territory is organised and managed as a marketplace, contributes to creating different layers of clearly delimited territories, which are used and conceived as individual or group properties. The management structure, which implies a structure of power, enables the street vendors to change the physical form of the street by establishing a market, and to modify the social relations space contains.

4.4 Chapter Conclusions

This Chapter supported the idea that the authorities and the vendors, even when they are from different positions and have different interests, formed a strong alliance over time. It is through this alliance, forged over several decades and with its own history of conflicts and negotiations, that the street vending system progressively became a powerful system. On one hand, the street vendor unions, especially the leaders, became powerful political by establishing a relation of exchange with the city government. On the

other, the systematic construction of markets and *plazas*, and the negotiation of the use of the streets, reinforced the commercial use of the area, which increased the value of the place for commercial purposes. Hence, the empowerment of the street vending system is explained from a political and social perspective as well as from a spatial one.

Parts one and two focused on the process by which the street vendors became integrated into the city's political system, and how street vendors became 'local authorities' with the power to make decisions on the territories they occupy. Part three focused on the process of territorialisation, and how the vendors integrated a joint street management structure together with the authorities by generating a system of codes that redefines and institutionalises the role of the unions' leaders as authorities of the street. I argue that these intertwined, yet different, processes are the mechanisms that provide power to and position the street vendors in the role of 'city producers'.

From a theoretical standpoint, I argue that 'production of space' is, first of all, an expression of power, as Lefebvre proposed in 1974. The street vending empowerment resulted from a multiplicity of processes (political, spatial, social) taking place simultaneously, but which nevertheless benefited the strengthening of the street vending commercial system. The case shows that a group that was marginal and powerless, the street vendors, was able to develop capacities to establish new relations with the city government, and eventually became an authority themselves. In this perspective, Saskia Sassen's idea of 'capacities in relational systems', as the engine for transformation, is particularly relevant (Sassen 2006).

The use of a case study allowed looking at how this process of political empowerment was connected to the mechanisms that produce and reproduce space. I looked at the market management and the system of codes that it generated, and how both, management and codes, define the uses of the street and what every actor can do and where they can do it. In fact, the codes defined by the structure comprised of authorities and vendors generated a specific 'form' for the street: a 'private-public' construct. Emilio Duahu's ideas about ambiguity in management, how it is used as a resource to overcome contradictions and the forms of space it produces were applied to street vending in the context of spatial transformation.

In conclusion, the political empowerment of the street vending system and its capacity to 'produce space' are the result of three concatenated processes: the political empowerment of the unions and their leaders, the role leaders play in the streets'

management structure, and the capacity of the vendors to recodify the streets according to their need of territorialisation.

Chapter 5

Enhancing commercial efficiency

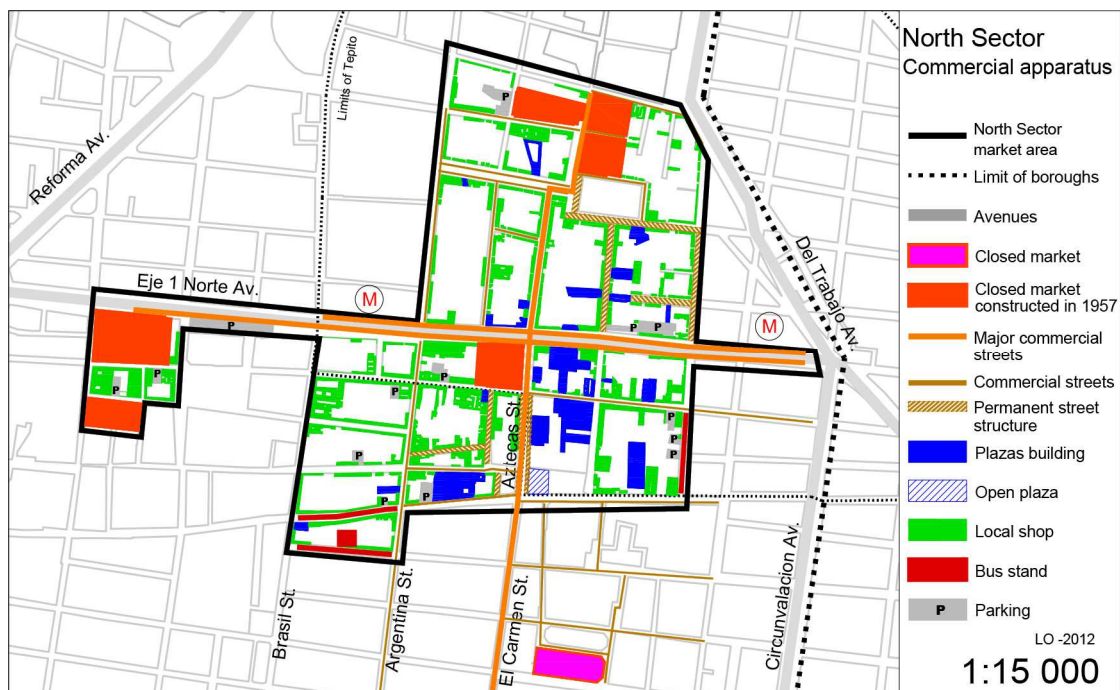


The previous Chapter explored the alliances between the street vendors and the city authorities, and how this relationship empowered the unions to make decisions about the use of space. Nevertheless, the political dimension of the phenomenon cannot explain the ‘commercial form’ that the territory acquires. Chapter 5 focuses on this aspect; it explores the socio-spatial organisation of the market and how its commercial logics contribute to establishing new relationships in space and modifying the existing ones. The Chapter hypothesis is that street vending, as a socio-spatial system, tends to transform a neighbourhood into a sophisticated ‘commercial apparatus’. The market is considered a complex and decentralised system with structures at three different scales: sector, street and stall levels. Special attention is given to the dynamics that increase the commercial value of the streets. The generation of the exchange-value (land value) of the streets can be considered the ultimate expression of the market’s capacity to ‘produce space’, i.e. its ability to transform space into a ‘commodity’.

The Chapter is divided in three parts, each corresponding to a different scale. The first part describes the organisation of the market at sector scale. This part describes the elements that form the commercial configuration of space and the roles different components play in the general organisation. The second part explores the street scale and the social and spatial organisation of the Aztecas Street Vendors’ Association (ASVA). The third part analyses the functioning of Tomas’s stall on Aztecas Street; the analysis focuses on the performance of the street-businesses and how it increase the monetary value of the street-stalls, and contribute to establish new commercial relations on space.

5.1 The North Sector as a 'commercial apparatus'

In this section, I present a spatial analysis of the North Sector, which operates as a market area. I provide details of the elements that constitute the commercial system, and explain role they in the organisation of the territory (configuration of space). Street vending creates spatial configurations beyond the places it occupies in the streets. A larger territorial scale is needed in order to understand the capacity of street vending to give a commercial 'form' to space. The spatial dimension of the phenomenon, especially at the urban scale, has been partially addressed by research and policy makers. Map 15 shows the North Sector as a 'commercial apparatus', including the different elements related to the commercial organisation of the area. The objective of this map is to argue that street vending does not only concern the streets and open spaces, but also other elements work together with the streets to form more complex spatial organisations.



Map 15 North Sector as a commercial apparatus

The organisation has two major elements that work as 'attractors'⁸⁷: the closed markets that act as commercial nodes, and the major corridors which link centralities and constitute a 'natural path' for potential clients. Beyond these major elements, there are other components that are part of the commercial system: the secondary specialised

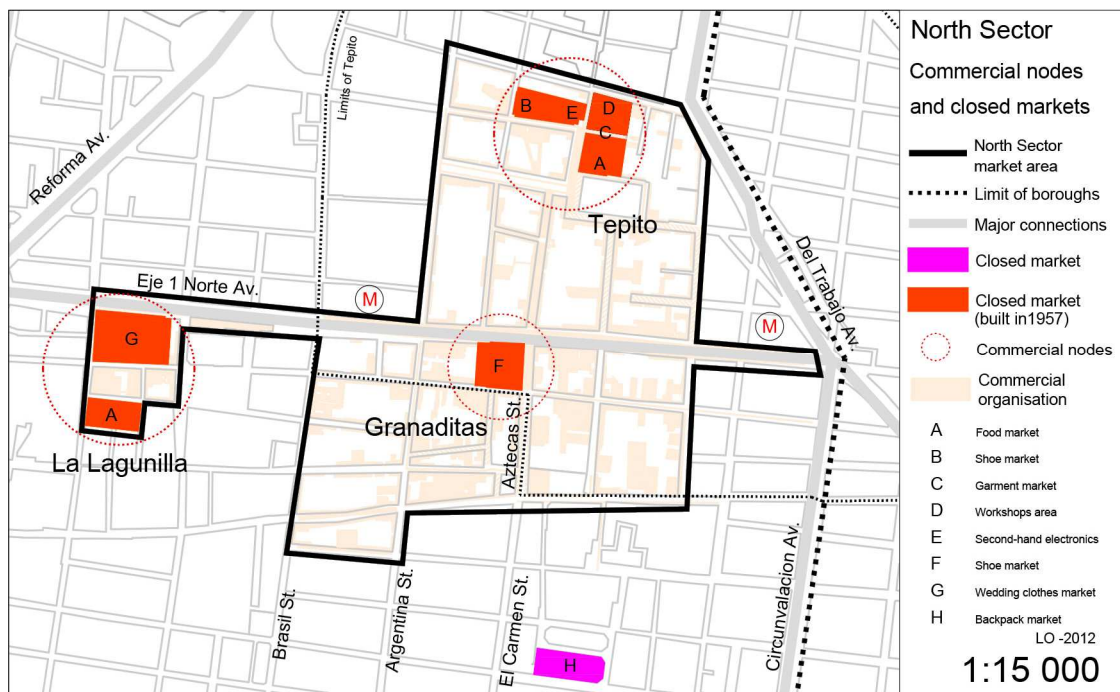
⁸⁷ The definition of this concept is explained in Chapter 2. It refers to those elements that guide, or strongly influence, the general organisation of the system.

streets, the specialised street markets, the shops, the *plazas* and the market facilities. Each of the market elements and their relation to space are explained in the following paragraphs.

5.1.1 The closed-markets that constitute commercial nodes

The North Sector has six closed markets, occupying 46,800 m² of commercial space⁸⁸. The markets are distributed among three poles: Tepito, Granaditas and La Lagunilla, as shown in Map 16. The Tepito commercial pole is located in the centre of the neighbourhood. The Granaditas market is located to the south of Tepito on Eje 1 Avenue; and the La Lagunilla node is located on the west side of the North Sector, also on Eje 1 Avenue.

The commercial areas are subdivided into different specialised markets. The Tepito commercial node has 5 specialised markets, described in the following paragraphs. The food market, shown in Map 15 with an 'A', has stalls that sell fresh fruits and vegetables and a catering area surrounded by stalls offering prepared food.



Map 16 Commercial nodes

⁸⁸ As a reference, the surface of a 'medium-size' retail park in France corresponds to 45,000 m² of commercial surface.

Shoe market 'B' specialises in import-branded shoes. Some of the Tepito families that run a majority of the market stalls have connections with importers from Asian origin (Tomas 2005, Alba Vega et al. 2007). Due to these connections, recent models of Converse sneakers may be found at a price of approximately £15 GBP (their price in the UK might range from £35 to £40 GBP). Thus, this market distributes fashionable objects, not only low-quality commodities, supplied from alternative distribution networks⁸⁹ (LO trip notes 2010).

A clothes outlet, indicated with a 'C' in the map, is located in the alley between the two closed markets. Traders have organised themselves in order to bring the clothes from the USA, that because they have small defects and are sold in bulk, they can be acquired at very low prices. These import practices were developed when the *fayuca* market expanded during the 1980s. At the back of the market, there is an area for shoe and clock repair workshops, indicated with a 'D' in the map. Most of these workshops are family-owned and are run by local families of artisans, some of them relocated from the streets in the 1950s. A second-hand electronics market, indicated with an 'E', is located near to Toltecas Street. Mixers, irons and coffee machines, among others, can be found in this area. This is an old market, but after the shoes area expanded, the *fierros viejos* (old hardware) market as it is called, reduced its size. Recycling was popular and a part of the Tepito culture, mainly in the 1960s and 1970s; however, nowadays, the distribution of these items is small.

The Granaditas commercial pole is formed by only one closed-market, indicated with an 'F' in the map, and it specialises in shoes. Many of the stalls sell nationally-produced shoes from the city of León; some of the market stalls are run by families who were relocated in the late 1950s and who used to sell shoes in wooden stalls in the streets nearby.

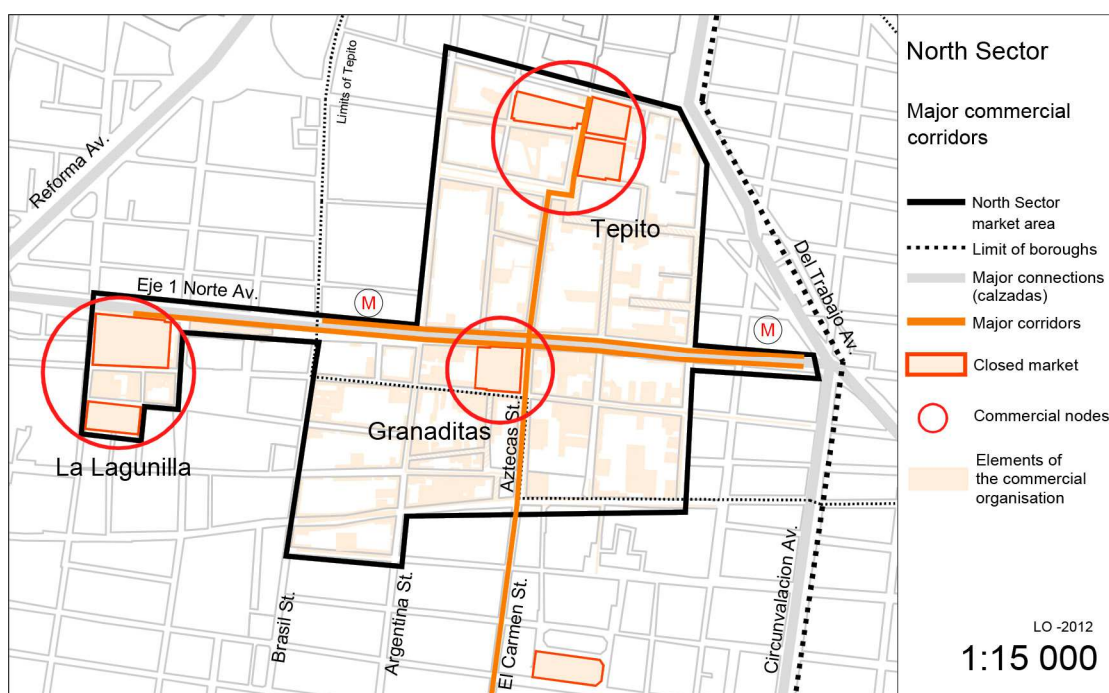
La Lagunilla commercial pole is formed by two markets. The largest one, indicated with a 'G', specialises in wedding dresses and clothes for other traditional festivities. Customers from distant regions come to the market in search of a wide variety of goods at lower prices. The south market, indicated with an 'A', sells food.

⁸⁹ Local residents (interview with members of the Arte Acá cultural group on 30/11/2010) told me that branded commodities are produced on ships during transportation. The production line begins operation when leaving Asia only with the raw materials, and the commodities are produced during their trip to Europe and America. The surplus production is distributed through alternative distribution networks such as the Tepito market. I did not investigate to verify this information, but in the market limited editions of sneakers with original tags can be found at lower prices.

The three commercial poles work as specialised commercial nodes, attracting customers from the metropolitan area and other regions of the country who are searching for variety and competitive prices. The most important business lines in the North Sector closed-markets are shoes in Tepito and Granaditas, and wedding dresses in La Lagunilla.

5.1.2 Major commercial corridors

In the North Sector, there are two major commercial corridors: Eje 1 Avenue and Aztecas Street. They correspond to the most important connections in the area. The Eje 1 Avenue is part of the city-scale system that connects distant areas within the metropolitan area; it directly connects with Eje Central, Reforma, Avenida del Trabajo and Circunvalación, which are all major city connections. In addition, two metro stations located on Eje 1 Avenue connect the area: La Lagunilla and Tepito, as shown in Map 17. Aztecas-El Carmen corridor plays an important role at local level because it forms a natural path by connecting the Tepito core area with the city centre main square, the Zócalo.



Map 17 Major commercial corridors

The market area was developed on both sides of Eje 1 Avenue, which was a strategy to have a ‘commercial facade’ on both sides of the Avenue; in fact, accessibility and visibility are important factors for the success of the commercial area. Eje 1 Avenue brings both characteristics to the area, which makes this Avenue an important commercial corridor.

Aztecas Street plays a similar role at local level. It connects the commercial area located in the city centre core area with the Granaditas and the Tepito markets. The Aztecas-El Carmen corridor constitutes a facade for the market, for people walking from the city centre to Eje 1 Avenue; it also plays an important role in connecting the different specialised markets in the area.

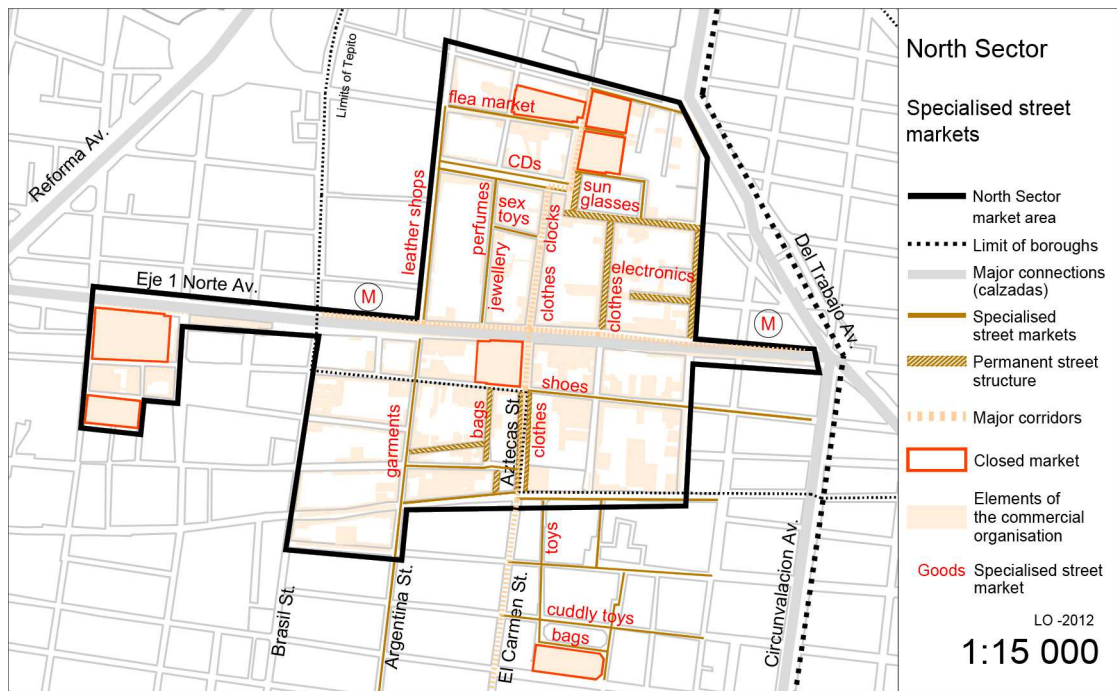
Eje 1 Avenue and Aztecas-El Carmen corridor structure the market area in spatial terms, connect the market area to its immediate surroundings, especially to the commercial poles, and constitute a 'commercial facade' for the North Sector, which is important to attract customers. The major corridors and the commercial poles structure the commercial area; they work as 'attractors' or central elements in the market's organisation of space.

5.1.3 Specialised secondary streets

Secondary streets lack accessibility and visibility; the strategy of traders to attract clients is to create specialised street markets, as shown in Map 18. Traders create a clear commercial image for the streets, for example the 'toys' street', the 'bags street', etc. thus increasing the potential of the street to attract clients who are looking for specific items. The business line of every individual street is integrated with the rest of the market area; for example, the Granaditas market sells shoes, so the street markets in nearby streets sell clothes, clocks, jewellery and other complementary articles. To avoid competition, traders fix the prices of similar articles, but they also develop high levels of specialisation within the same business line. The traders' individual commercial strategy consists in selling wholesale; reducing their profit per item, but offering highly competitive prices.

The specialised streets work together as a 'commercial net', which articulates the different business lines as if they were 'shelves' in a supermarket. For example, Girón Street, where imported toys are sold, is a secondary corridor parallel to Aztecas Street. I asked the leader how this street had started to specialise in toys. She told me that Bolivia Street was already specialised in cuddly toys, so some of the street vendors started experimenting with similar items. Some tried selling plastic toys and it turned out to be good business so the other vendors started selling the goods that were more profitable and successful. In order to avoid conflicts, they decided to work together, and as a result they negotiated with suppliers, such as Wal-Mart, to obtain lower prices. Actually, the traders in this street negotiate with companies like Wal-Mart to distribute massively the

products that have a defect, and thus cannot be sold in a supermarket, in the Girón street market. In most cases, the defect is subtle or it only affects the exterior packaging.



Map 18 Specialised street markets

Some of the specialised streets in the North Sector area are: Girón Street, imported plastic toys; Bolivia Street, cuddly toys; El Carmen Street, imported low-quality accessories like jewellery and bags; Aztecas Street, nationally manufactured clothes and imported accessories; Costa Rica Street, imported shoes; Ecuador Street, locally-produced shoes; República de Chile Street, wedding gowns stores; Argentina Street, silver jewellery; Tenochtitlan Street, pirated perfumes; San Bartolomé square, pirated CDs; Rinconada San Bartolomé, imported clothes from outlets in the USA; San Francisco square, imported and pirated sun glasses and clocks; Jesus Carranza, leather shops, most of them now closed; Matamoros Street, second-hand market. Map 18 shows the distribution and articulation of these specialised secondary streets.

The commercial form that the territory acquires is the result of a spatial strategy. Secondary and less visible streets promote the idea of a specialised commercial hub to attract customers looking for that business line. The articulation of the streets, as a 'net', results from a strategy to give commercial coherence to the area. These spatial strategies do not result from the implementation of a master plan, but as a result of the abilities of the vendors to work together and their knowledge of how to render the area more attractive for customers.

5.1.4 The diversity of street markets

The street markets have more or less permanent forms; in the North Sector, there are six different modalities of street vending. The street vendors that display their goods over a fabric extended on the floor are called '*toreros*', see Figure 35. They sell small and transportable goods, most of them low-quality imported items. *Toreros* sell in the streets near to the Zócalo, where vending is prohibited; this flexible vending modality allows them to minimise their presence in the streets. *Toreros* are organised into groups and most of the members are 17- to 25-years-olds who come from the outskirts of the metropolitan area. The *toreros* are controlled by the local leaders who, most of the time, are the owners of the goods.

The second kind of street vendors is called '*ayateros*'. They also display goods over a fabric on the floor, but the difference is that they sell second-hand items that they collect from middle- and upper-class neighbourhoods. The *ayateros* sell in the north area of Tepito on the outskirts of the market, in Matamoros and Tenochtitlán Streets. In general, they are local people.



A Example of *toreros*, a kind of street vendors
Source: LO 2013



B Example of *ayateros*, a kind of street vendors

Figure 35 Two kinds of street vendors displaying goods on a fabric

The third kind of street vending is the one resulting from the shops extending their commercial activities onto the street. Traders place racks on the streets to display the goods as a kind of shop window, as shown in Figure 36. On one hand, the goods displayed on the street attract clients; on the other, they prevent other street vendors from occupying the street in front of the shops. The shop extensions are localised in the North Sector commercial streets, mixed with other forms of street vending.

The fourth modality of the street market is characterised by stalls made of removable metallic structures covered with a colourful tarp, as shown in Figure 37. These structures were supposed to be removed every day, but instead they remain in the streets as a permanent fixture. In the North Sector, this is the most common modality of street trading. In some cases, between the metallic stalls, there are temporary structures formed with racks, carts, etc.. In general, these temporary structures sell food, juice or drinks. Food markets using removable stalls are located in the secondary streets; these markets serve mainly local residents.



Figure 36 Street vending as 'shop extensions'

The fifth form of vending is characterised by permanent metallic structures covering part of the street, as shown in Figure 37. Main commercial corridors have this kind of structures as is the case of Aztecas, Caridad, Florida and Nicaragua streets.

The last modality of vending, which is related to the fixed structures of main corridors, is represented by the '*carreros*', who are mobile vendors that use carts, bikes or other vehicles. They are constantly moving on the vehicles' lanes and usually sell simple objects like clothes, or food.

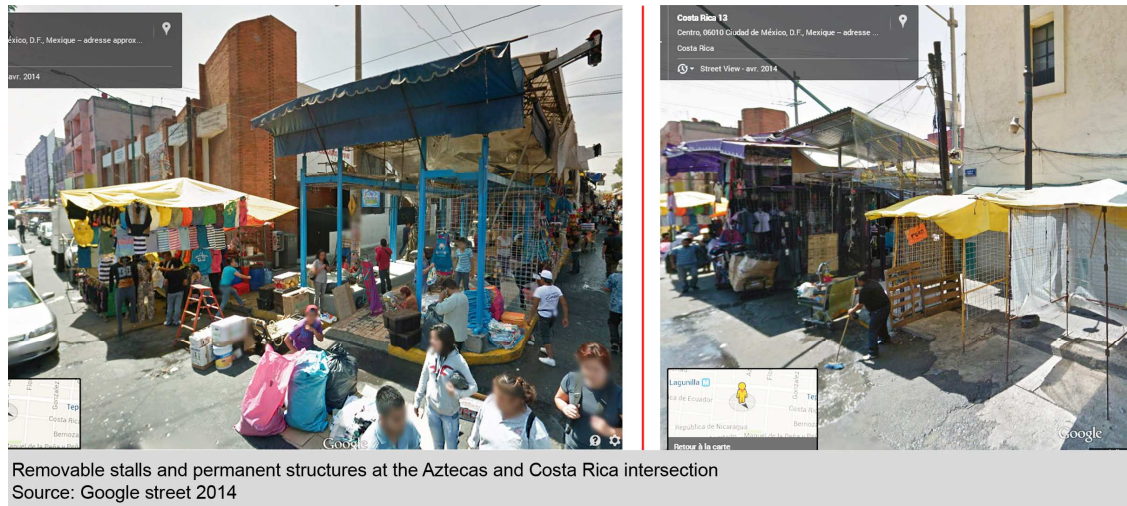
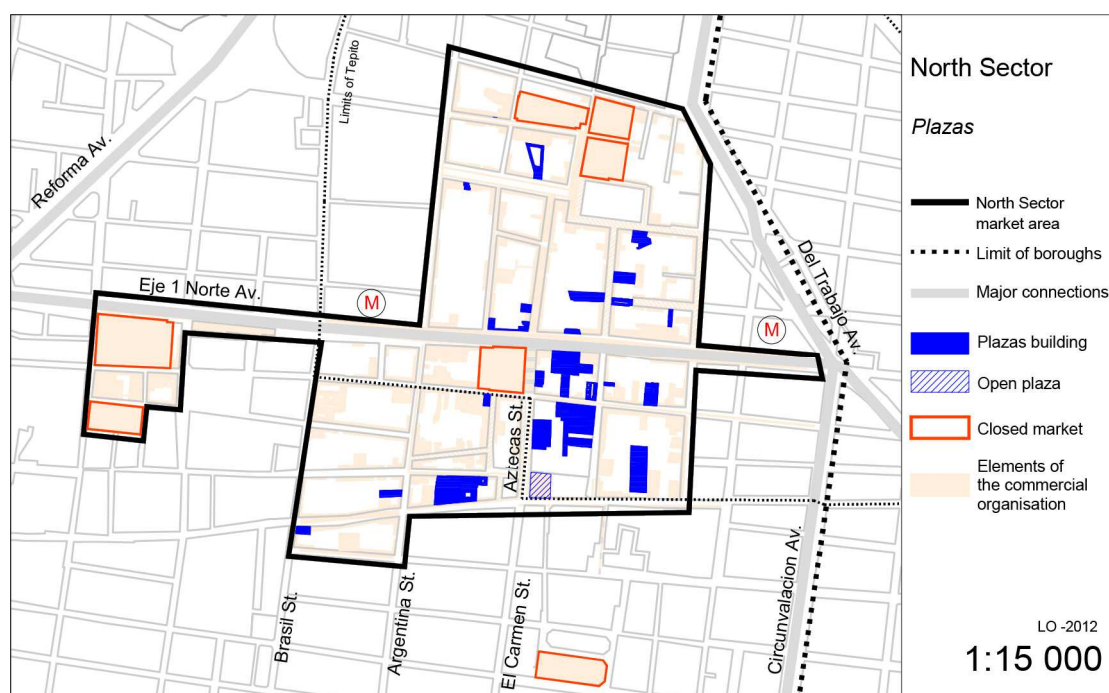


Figure 37 Different typologies of stall structures

Different kinds of street vending have emerged in the North Sector commercial area. The modalities have been adapted to the needs of the vendors and the situation of the streets. Contested streets are characterised by more mobile forms of vending, while main corridors have permanent, consolidated structures. Different street vending modalities were developed in the North Sector commercial area, allowing the commercial system to expand and adapt to the particular situation of the streets.

5.1.5 The *plazas*

The *plazas* were constructed by the street vendors on the plots granted by the city government during the Relocation Programmes of 1993 and 2007. The plots granted were those that were available at the time, thus most of them lacked a strategic location, as shown in Map 19. In general, their commercial design is poor and failed to work as final consumers' commercial destinations. However, the *plazas* were recycled by the street vendors and adapted, in some cases rented out, to offer market complementary services. As mentioned before, some are used as storage places, shops distributing wholesale to street vendors, banking, shipping services, toilets, coffee shops, administrative offices, among others. The availability of these services contributed to the consolidation of the commercial activities of the area and to the strengthening of the relation between the uses of the streets and the built commercial structures.



Map 19 Distribution of *plazas* in the North Sector

In some cases, the malls have applied the specialisation strategy, similar to the one found in the streets. For example, *Plaza Charly*, located on Aztecas Street, specialises in backpacks and leather wallets. Mall traders do not compete with street vendors. Customers who need or want a receipt for their purchase buy in the *plaza* shops, if they prefer lower-priced goods, without an official receipt, they buy directly in the street stalls. Hence, *plazas* and street stalls serve different kinds of customers and have found a way to differentiate their strategies to avoid competition with each other.

Besides the *plazas* that the government facilitated to the street vendors, two other kinds of commercial structures are built in the area. One kind of these structures are the *plazas* constructed by Asian nationals. As mentioned before, Asian nationals are not allowed to distribute their goods in the streets, so their strategy is to build *plazas* where they can sell directly to customers. However, people are not used to walking into buildings to do their shopping; they usually buy directly in the streets. These *plazas* have an adequate commercial design that offers maximum visibility from the streets, they are built with high quality materials and the *plaza* is full of goods even if there are a few customers. Few clients visit the *plaza*, especially the second floors, but the strategy is to wait, even for a long period of time, until the *plaza* is known and is able to attract a regular clientele. The construction of a *plaza*, and the time it takes to 'take off', requires a considerable amount of capital. This kind of commercial strategy is new to the operation of the area.

The second kind of structures refers to the *plazas* owned and constructed by powerful street vending unions. For example, on Apartado Street there is a *plaza* called Central de Mayoreo, which was constructed by Alejandra Barrios' union. The structure has 5,500 m² of commercial surface and is strategically located in the area. The basement is used to park buses that come from different regions of the national territory. The first and second floors distribute Asian-imported goods; and these floors also have storage places and the administrative offices.

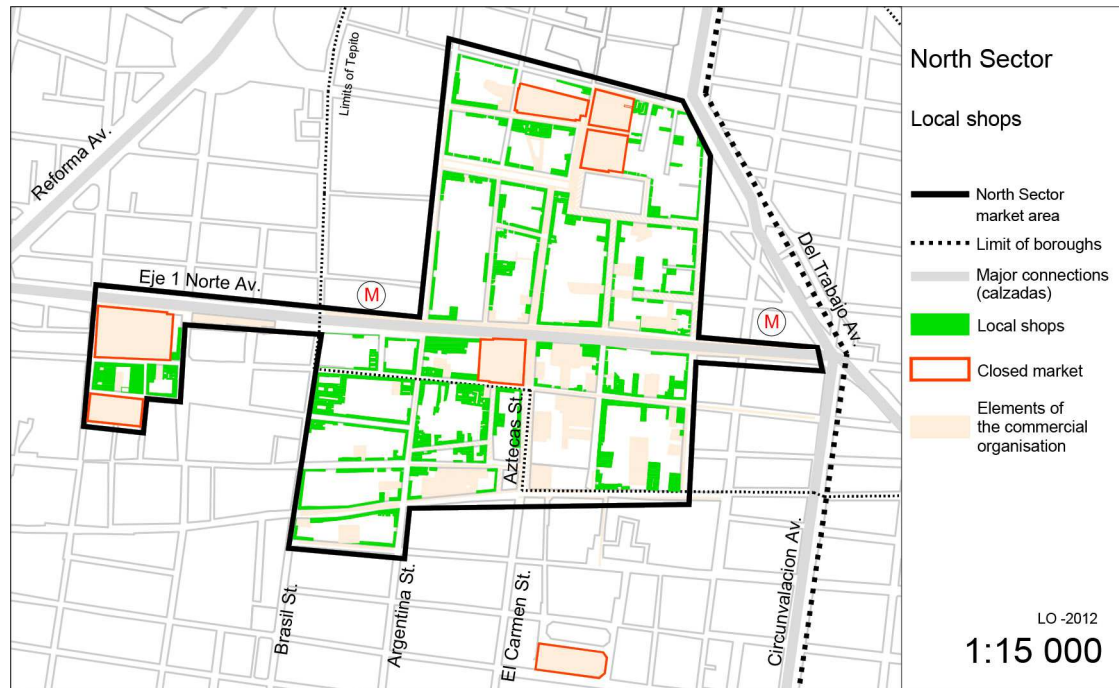
The construction of this structure was entirely an initiative of the union, from the acquisition of the land and the definition of the programme to the construction and management. The structure belongs entirely to the union, which is the main difference with the *plazas* constructed under the relocation programme, whose land is owned by the city government. The construction of these structures reflects a structured vision of the territory in relation to the commercial activities. The commercial structures established in the area consolidate the uses of the street, its commercial potential and exchange-value. The relation between the streets and the *plazas* is well understood by the street vendors who systematically, without a master plan but with a strategic vision of the territory, promote the consolidation of spatial structures that favour the commercial uses of space.

5.1.6 Rows of shops

The city government approved the construction of shops during the Housing Reconstruction Programme implemented after the 1985 earthquake. The 'reconstruction unit' typology based on the *vecindad* promoted the construction of shops in the front of the property, to reinforce the relations between 'streets', 'vending' and 'housing'. These spatial relations were at the core of the social and productive organisation of the Tepito neighbourhood. The productive activities, such as the shoe-making workshops, almost disappeared when the *fayuca* market expanded in the 1970s and 1980s. Many local residents became street vendors or entrepreneurs developing businesses related to the street market, as these economic activities were more profitable.

The relation between the 'streets' and the 'houses', at the centre of the socio-spatial organisation of Tepito, was modified as the neighbourhood, especially the streets, became a valuable 'asset' to make business. The commercial value of the public spaces was enhanced by the construction of the *plazas* and the rows of shops that worked as

‘commercial facades’ for the streets. The streets, including the front of the streets, became a well structured commercial organisation. The residential activities took place in the heart of the blocks and remained disconnected from the streets, separated by the shops occupying the forefront of the plots. Map 20 shows that almost all of the streets have rows of shops as a street-facade, while the inner part of the plots remained isolated from the thoroughfare activities.



Map 20 Distribution of local shops in the North Sector

Asian nationals rented or bought the shops to distribute their imported goods, especially socks, bags and backpacks. The shops’ business line is also specialised and respond to the general organisation of the North Sector as a commercial area. For example, the Aztecas Street market specialises in clothes, the Granaditas closed-market specialises in shoes and the shops specialise in Asian-imported bags. In this way, the territory acquires a commercial coherent form and structure, but it also changes the spatial relations that the community establish in space.

5.1.7 Additional market facilities

The street market requires two kinds of additional facilities: storage places and parking zones. There are three kinds of storage facilities in the North Sector: upper floors of *plazas* used as storage places, dwellings rented for storage and buildings used as

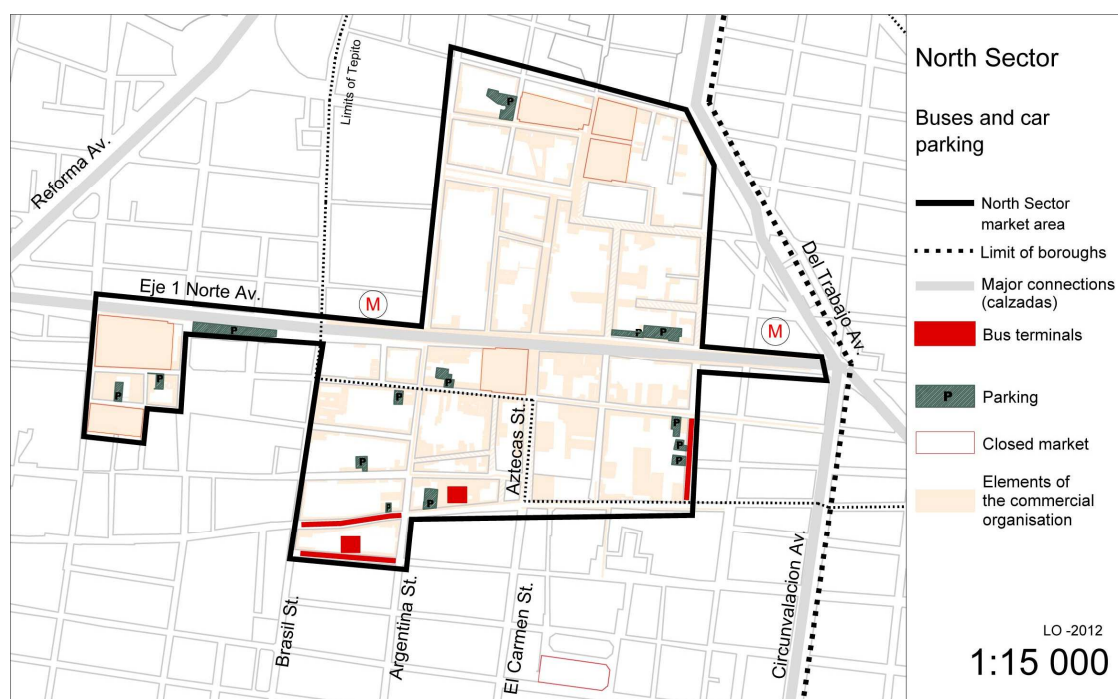
centralised storage places. Figure 38 shows a building that was originally used for manufacturing clothes and has now been recycled as a centralised storage facility. Image B shows the daily daunting task of transporting the goods to the market. The centralisation of storage is convenient because it reduces costs, increases security and, in some cases, reduces the transportation effort. Centralised storage locations are generally located near the denser commercial areas. Storage is also common in the *vecindades* and renovation units; in many cases they are used as both a dwelling and a storage location.



Figure 38 Storage facility and the transport of goods

Appropriate parking facilities are essential for the successful operation of a commercial area. Customers of the North Sector market area come by regional bus or private car. Regional buses are run by private companies, and two streets are used to park the buses: Bolivia and Peru streets to the south-east, and Manuel Doblado Street to the west-south side of the North Sector. Approximately 70 buses, carrying 1,500 clients, arrive every day to the area from faraway regions of the national territory, such as Coatzacoalcos, Merida, Saltillo, Veracruz, Michoacán, Chilpancingo, Tabasco, Oaxaca, Puebla, Guaymas, Sonora, Aguascalientes, Torreón, Hidalgo, etc. (data collected directly in the field, LO notes on 07/12/2010). Map 21 shows the distribution of the parking facilities and the streets used as bus stops.

Some of the plots used as parking facilities were empty because of the destruction caused by the 1985 earthquake. For this reason, some of the areas used for parking are small and not easily accessible from major avenues. To reinforce the parking services, a multi-storey building was constructed on Eje 1 Avenue, near the Lagunilla market.



Map 21 Distribution of parking facilities

The consolidation of the street market as a robust commercial structure was achieved progressively as the street vendors understood the spatial relations that reinforced the commercial potential of the area. They adapted existing structures to the needs of the market, like the *plazas* and the centralised storage facilities, and constructed new ones that enhanced the performance of the market, like the Central de Mayoreo and the parking building. The consolidation of the street market as a territorial unit reflects the capacity of the street vendors and local entrepreneurs to acquire the knowledge of the spatial strategies required to make the territory efficient in commercial terms.

In this part I described the operation of the North Sector as a commercial apparatus. The organisation comprises a multiplicity of elements working together, and forming complex relations in space. In general, street vending studies tend to focus on the streets; this analysis intended to show that the streets are connected to the spatial configurations of a territory. A policy addressing street vending cannot only take into account the places that vendors occupy in the streets, but it might also consider the connections it establishes with other elements to create robust spatial structures. The analysis supports the argument that street vending can ‘produce space’ by arranging existing conditions, and creating new ones, in order to enhance the commercial potential, use and value of space.

5.2 A socio-spatial analysis of the ASVA on Aztecas Street

This analysis presents a ‘commercial x-ray’ of the Aztecas Street market; this in-depth analysis looks at the different profiles of the street vendors, their commercial strategies and the impact they have on the increase of the commercial value of the street. The argument supported in this section is that the more the market is organised in social and spatial terms, the more it becomes efficient, and the more it can increase the value of public spaces to carry out commercial activities. I argue that the increase in the efficiency of the market, reflected for example in the specialisation of the street market, contributes to transform space into an ‘exchange-value’. As mentioned in the methodology Chapter, the information was collected through a stall-by-stall survey completed by the Aztecas Street Vendors’ Association (ASVA) and subsequent GIS mapping of the stalls⁹⁰.

5.2.1 The market’s capacity to create employment

The survey completed by the ASVA included a question about the number of employees per stall. The ASVA ‘working area’, which occupies only the west side of the Aztecas Street sidewalk, creates 270 direct jobs along 195 linear meters (along two blocks)⁹¹. Considering both sides of the street, as the market is symmetrical, this portion of Aztecas creates approximately 540 jobs. This means that 1.5 jobs are created for every linear meter of market. The street market offers jobs and business opportunities to many people.

Street stalls are mainly run by entrepreneurs and family members who alternate working at the stall. Eighty percent of the vendors are entrepreneurs of a family business, while only 20% are employed by the street business owners. In some cases the shops rent out a street stall in front of their business to expand their commercial surface, in these cases the stalls are run by the shop employees. Aztecas street, as many of the streets in the North Sector, operates mainly as a family-based economic model.

⁹⁰ The survey was conducted on 28/12/2010. More details of the methodology are available in Chapter three, Section 3.3 ‘Case specific analyses’.

⁹¹ The street vendor unions, based on the number of members, have the size of a medium-size enterprise; in fact, according to European standards, an enterprise with 250 employees is considered a ‘medium-size firm’.

Indirect jobs have not been quantified, but the market distributes commodities manufactured in family-based cottage industries operating in the informal sector. Hence, the streets create direct jobs for market workers and entrepreneurs, but additionally they serve as a support for the activities in the manufacturing sector. The street market's capacity to create direct or indirect employment opportunities is considered one of its major advantages. The city authorities, beyond corruption and political utilisation of the unions, do not enforce the law that prohibits street vending in order to avoid the difficulty of offering alternative employment solutions to the people involved in the market economy.

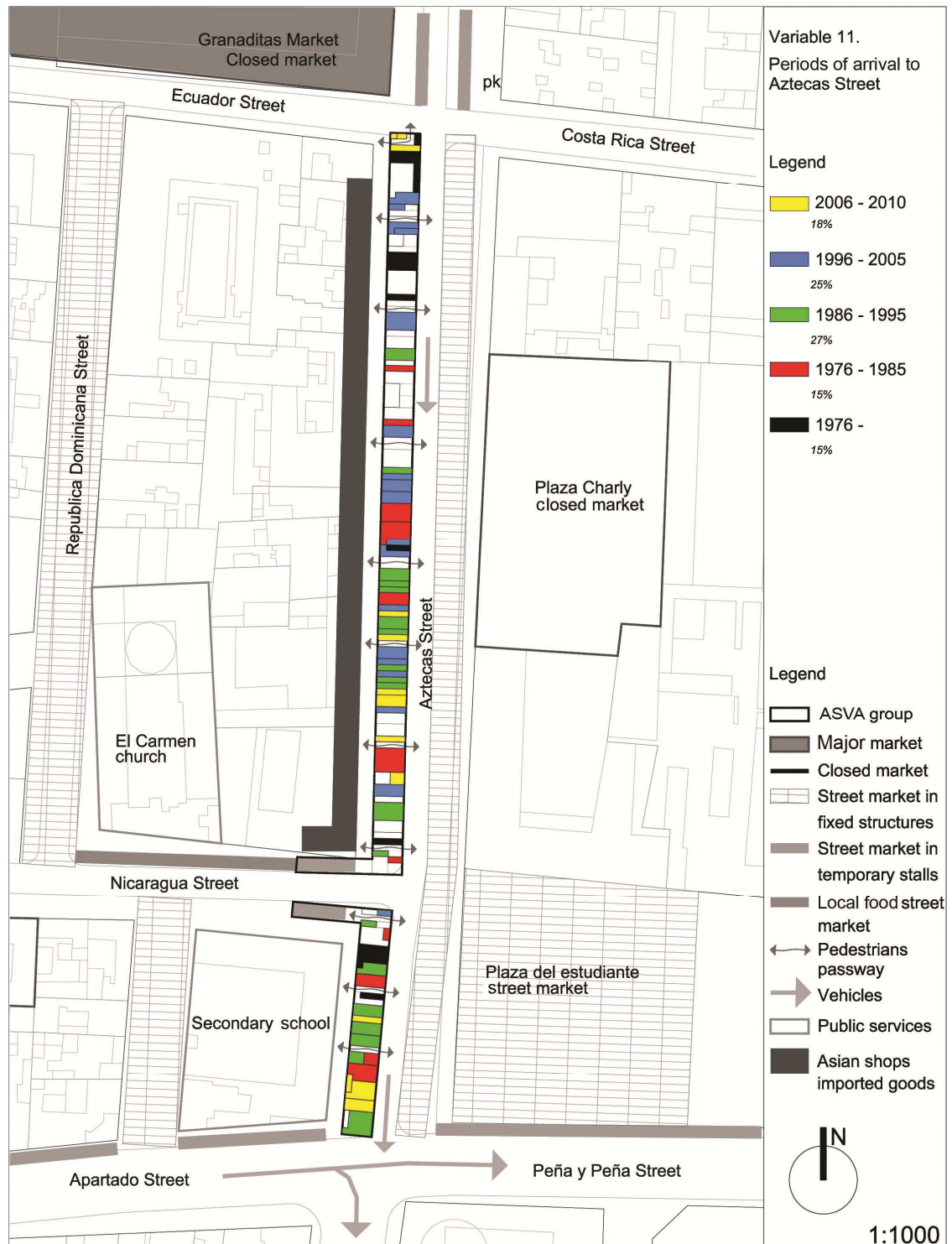
5.2.2 The street vendors' arrival to Aztecas Street

The street vendors have been asked how many years they have been selling in the Aztecas Street (question No. 11). The answers were divided into five different periods of time, in relation to the different stages of consolidation of the street market. Map 22 shows the distribution of the vendors in the street in relation to the date of their arrival.

The first arrival period was before the year 1976. During this period the so-called 'original vendors' arrived to the area attracted by the Granaditas closed-market. Only 15% of the current vendors arrived during this period. The second arrival period was between 1976 and 1985, which happened before the 1985 earthquake. 15% of the vendors arrived during this period, which corresponds to the expansion of the *fayuca* market. The third period was between 1986 and 1995, this is the period after the 1985 earthquake and before the city political transition of 1997. This period was particularly important for the consolidation of the market as 27% of the vendors arrived during this time. The authorities tolerated the street vendors in the aftermath of the earthquake to prevent social mobilisations against the city government. The year 1993 was particularly important, as the vendors were removed from the streets near the Zócalo, such as from the Colombia street market. The ASVA group 'unfolded' during this period and doubled the size of the street market.

The fourth period was between 1996 and 2005; the political transition of the city government marked this period of time. The first democratic election took place in 1997; the PRD won and replaced the PRI government. A political alliance between the ASVA and the PRD can explain that 25% of the vendors arrived during this period. Political instability favoured the street vendors unions, which offered their political support in

exchange for vending areas in the streets. The negotiations with the PRD and the fact that they have continually run the city government have contributed to the consolidation of the Aztecas street market. The number of arrivals during this period can also be explained by the fragmentation of the vending places. Original stalls were divided in order to rent out or sell smaller portions to incoming vendors.



Map 22 Periods of arrival of street vendors

The last period was between 2005 and 2010. During this time the street vendors were evicted from the streets near the main square due to the implementation of the City Centre Revitalisation Plan in 2005 and 2007. Eighteen percent of the current vendors arrived during this period; some of the vendors were selling in the city centre core area and moved to the Aztecas market, while others were qualified entrepreneurs who were looking for an attractive location to run a business. These vendors arrived directly to the Aztecas market by renting a vending place in the street directly from the original vendors.

The Aztecas street market was progressively consolidated by street vendors arriving at different periods of time. The arrival of the vendors increased in the period after the 1985 earthquake and during the city political transition of the 1990s. As studied in the historical review, many factors favoured the formation of the North Sector street market area: the politics of economy, the demographic expansion of the city, the strategic location of the market, the political instability of the city government and, at local level, the empowerment of the street vendors unions. The streets in the North Sector played an important role as a 'job and business opportunity asset' for street vendors during these periods of time. The street market 'absorbed' the street vendors over time and consolidated as a permanent and clearly defined structure in the streets, reaching its maximum capacity. Over time, the integration of the new vendors helped to preserve the market's dynamism and to increase the unions' political power. However, this dynamism worked only in favour of the commercial activities of the street, while reducing the spaces for other, non-commercial uses.

5.2.3 The street vendors relation to the neighbourhood

Street vendors have a different relation to the place where they sell if they live in the neighbourhood than if they only work in the market. Local vendors consider the market a community asset that they have consolidated over time with their own effort. Some of the families that made money by distributing smuggled goods, especially during the *fayuca* market, keep their storage places and businesses in the area but have moved to middle class neighbourhoods, such as Aragón to the east of the city centre. The street traders and other entrepreneurs that develop more modest local businesses tended to stay (living and working) in the neighbourhood. This is the case of families that prepare food or provide other services for the street traders. For this category of traders, it is convenient

to stay in the neighbourhood as they have their family, community, and activity all in the same place.

On the other hand, the market attracts a high number of workers, especially from the outskirts of the metropolitan area, mainly from the State of Mexico. Market workers that come from distant places, who constitute 41% of the ASVA traders, consider the neighbourhood a 'working place'. Locals call them 'Tepiteros', which means people attracted to the neighbourhood but who don't belong to the community. Thirty-eight percent of the vendors live in the city centre area, and 21% live in the city centre surroundings. Hence, the market is formed by both local and outsider vendors. Map 23 shows the distribution of the vendors who live in the city centre and those who live in the surrounding areas.

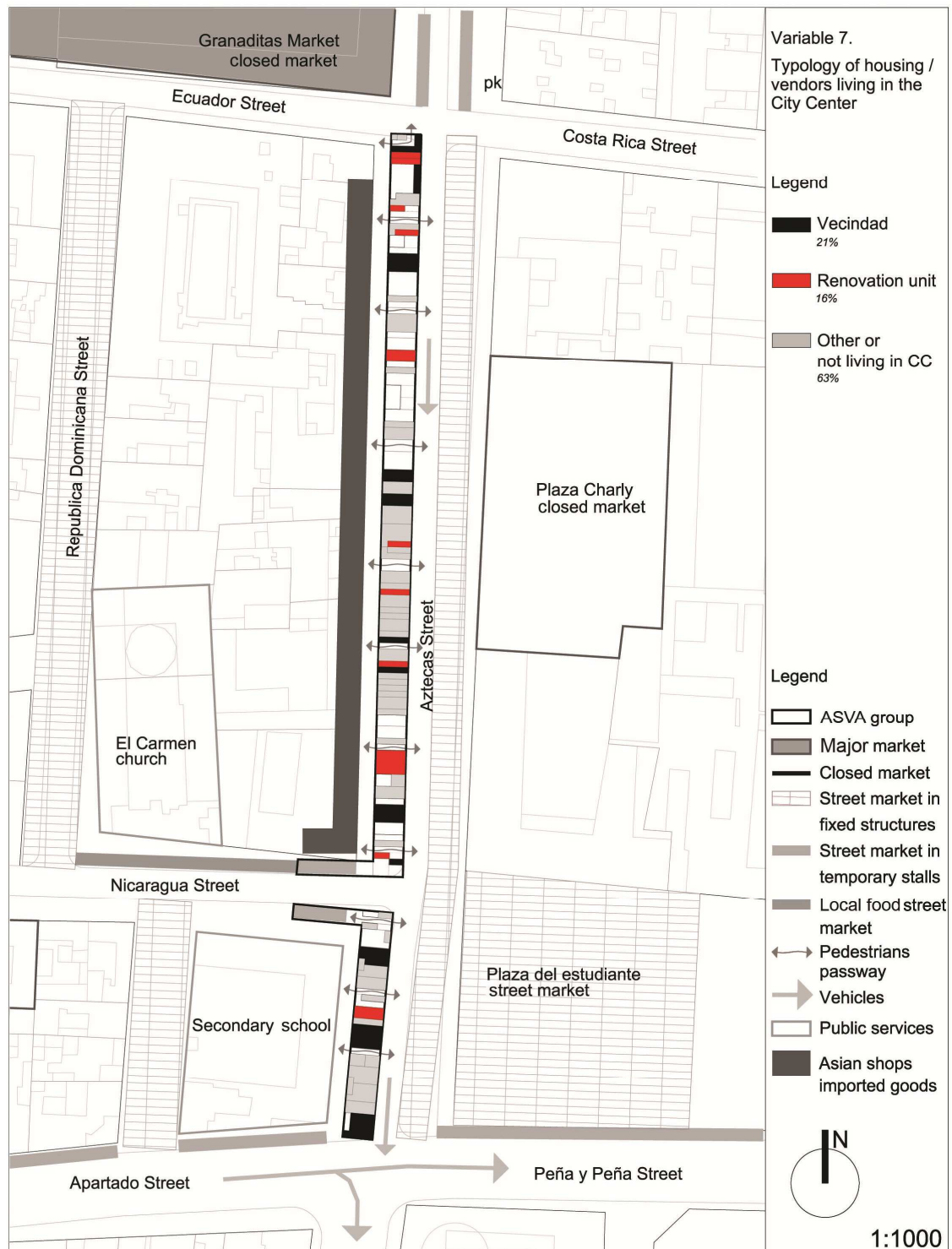
Many traders who come from the State of Mexico rent stalls from the locals or work as employees in the stalls ran by entrepreneurs. There are some illegal migrants who come from Central and South America and the street markets offers them job opportunities. This is the case of one of Tomas's employees (stall 141).

The local community is losing some social categories, especially those who have been able to move out of the neighbourhood. Current residents tend to be people related to the market; they are street vendors, entrepreneurs or market employees. The modification of the social structure of the neighbourhood changes the community and its relation to space: local culture, codes, practices and representations of space.

The survey explored the relation between the street traders living in the city centre and the typology of the dwellings where they live (variable 7). The result of the analysis shows that 21% of the vendors live, or have a property, in traditional *vecindades*, and 16% live in renovated units, i.e. dwellings constructed after the 1985 earthquake. Map 24 shows the distribution of the results. There is a tendency to keep family properties in the neighbourhood, and use them as dwellings for employees, family members, or to rent them out or use them for storage.



Map 23 Street vendors living in the city centre and the surrounding areas



Map 24 Housing typologies of vendors living in the city centre

The street vendors who are members of the local community create more complex relations in space. Vendors who are also residents have stalls in the street, they store the goods on the *vecindades'* ground-floor and live on the upper floors, they rent other dwellings out to the market employees, etc. Social and spatial interactions consolidate, and create, robust spatial structures that strengthen the operation of the market. The

relation between the streets and other elements of space increases the resilience of the commercial structure. The relation between the collective housing and the streets is explored in-depth in Chapter six; the survey explores in a quantitative way the percentage of vendors who live, or who own property, in the *vecindades* and renovated units.

The analysis of the street vendors relation to the neighbourhood reveals that, for outsiders, the street is a 'working place' while for locals it is the place where they carry out their lives as part of a community and, at the same time, an 'asset' that they can rent out or sell to outsiders. The relations that locals create with space result in a territory where the different elements in space, i.e. housing, streets, buildings, etc., work in an integrated way as a system. The street market is connected to other spatial elements and to the functioning of the community. The spatial structures that the local community creates are particularly relevant to understand the operation of the market, especially in historic centres where this activity had flourished. Street vending can form complex, evolving structures in space that depend on the relation that vendors have with space.

5.2.4 The market as a long-term family investment

Street vendors are considered a public nuisance because this activity is viewed by others as one with a low-social value. For the original vendors, 'getting out of the streets' and having a different job is a sign of the capacity of people to get a better life; for this reason many street vendors invest in their children's education. The survey revealed that 23% percent of the original vendors invested in higher education for their children; some of whom are still studying. However, most of them remain attached to the street businesses after completing their studies. As a consequence, street vending becomes a long-term activity that is able to consolidate a market over a long period of time. The case of Tomas, a key informant, is representative of this situation. His parents, both street vendors, gave him the possibility to pursue higher education; he obtained a college degree in psychology. He got a job at a bank where he earned 200 GBP per month (4,000 MXN). He kept that job for few months, but decided to quit and run his own business in Aztecas Street, where his parents had a street-stall. By running his own street business he can earn up to 1,500 GBP per month (30,000 MXN) which represents a better economic option for him.

Contrary to what the original vendors expected, their younger members are 'inheriting' the family businesses and are expanding them by opening new selling points in the streets. In the case of the ASVA, 12.6% of the stalls have been inherited. The stalls are indeed considered a kind of a family-property. This can be explained by the following factors. Firstly, street vending in the North Sector can be a highly profitable activity, especially for young people who have motivation, knowledge and local networks; for them running a stall is a better option than obtaining a job in the formal sector. Secondly, the kids that have grown up in the market have learned important commercial abilities, in many cases, from a very young age, and have developed an entrepreneurial mentality by helping their parents to run the business. Lastly, the labour market is highly deteriorated. The city economy has shifted to the tertiary sector, job openings in the formal sector are highly competitive and, in general, salaries are low (Duhau et al. 2008). Hence, the street stalls offer better economic opportunities for the younger generation.

The family-stalls organise among themselves to obtain commercial benefits. This is the case of Tomas and his family. All family members distribute the same kind of goods, at the same price, in multiple vending points. They buy from the same suppliers to obtain better prices and store the goods in the same storage location, reducing costs. In this way, they don't compete, but rather they multiply their chances to get more customers. The families of street vendors develop commercial abilities and are able to expand their businesses in space. The market, to a certain extent, becomes a family-based organisation.

Over the years, the street-stalls become a capital for the families, which in the local culture is referred as '*patrimonio familiar*' meaning literally 'patrimony of the family'. The market started as a 'temporary' activity, but it evolved into a 'permanent' one. The street vendors develop abilities and the streets became a good business opportunity. The street vendors' motivations to enhance their street businesses and their interpretations of space as a family-property, both reflected in their commercial practices in space, are important factors to explain the process of 'production of space'.

5.2.5 A commercial analysis of the market

The street vendors' main objective is to increase their sales; in order to do so, they work together to implement a collective commercial strategy. Business line specialisation is a successful way to attract clients. The street market tends to specialise, but at the same

time the vendors offer diversity within the same family of products. In the North Sector, the traders fix the price of the goods by adding a 30% of the cost, instead of a 50% as is the case in non-specialised market areas. The specialisation of the street markets contributes to give a 'commercial form' to space and changes its attributes and values. Map 25 shows in detail the dominant business lines of the area occupied by the ASVA in the Aztecas street market.

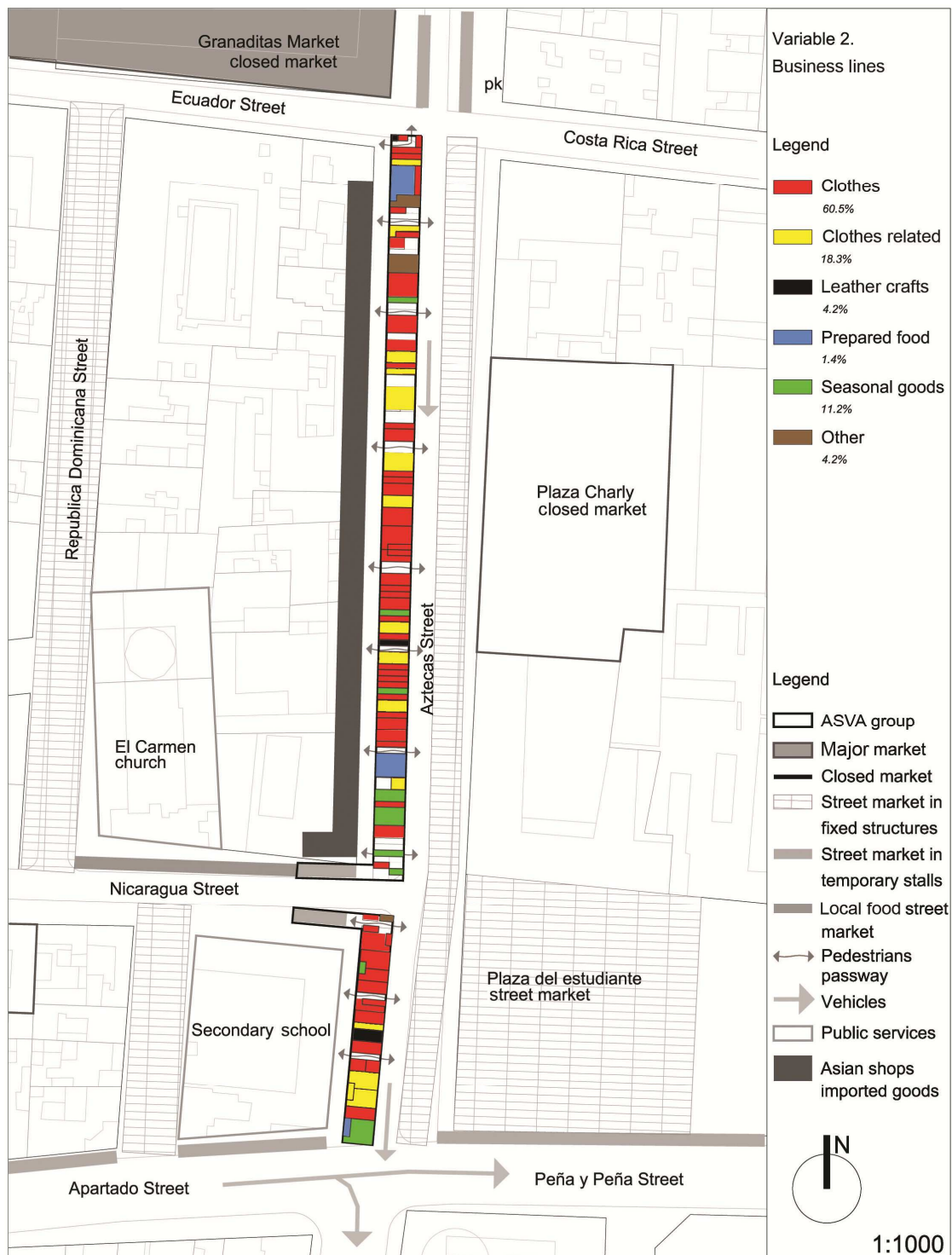
The Aztecas commercial corridor sells garments and accessories. Stalls that sell garments represent 60.5% while stalls that sell related articles such as shoes, socks, caps, sun glasses, bags, etc. represent 22.5%. Both business lines make up 83% of the total stalls, which could be considered a high percentage of specialisation. The spatial strategy gradually adapted by trial-and-error and by learning to take advantage of the characteristics of the place, such as the proximity to the Granaditas shoe market and the manufacturing of clothing in the city centre south area. In addition to garments, the street market has stalls that sell food and other dedicated to 'seasonal' items, in other words, goods that are sold only during specific festivities like Christmas, Valentine's Day, etc. The tendency is to increase the commercial form of the street to render it attractive to external clients.

The street vendors were asked if they participated in the production of the goods they sell in their stalls (question 16). The result is that only 9.8% participate in the manufacturing process, as shown in Map 26. In general, these commodities are related to sports clothing. The traders' families participate by cutting and sewing while other family members sell them in a street-stall. This is the case of stall 142 in Aztecas Street. Mario, a street vendor, is a 60-year-old man that sells sports clothing. He and his family buy Asian imported clothes, and they cut and sew it themselves; later he sells the manufactured garments in the Aztecas market. He pirates brands like Nike, Puma, and others to add value to his pants. The profit margin per article is 60% higher than the rest of the goods sold in the market, which means that this is a profitable activity (field interview with the vendor 20/12/2010). However, it is necessary to have specialised knowledge of the product and the market to produce the goods.

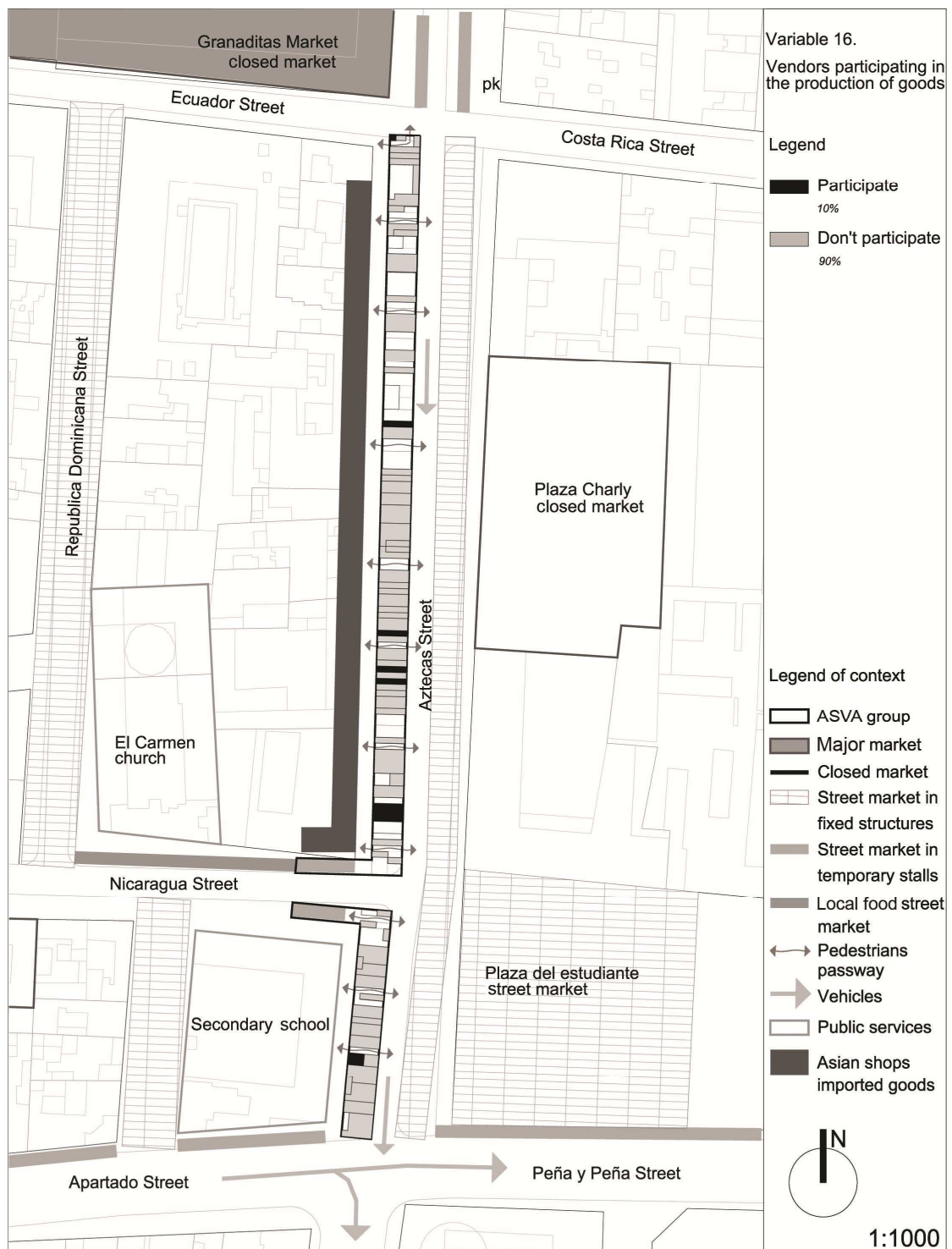
Variable 15 refers to the origin of the goods distributed in the street market. A majority of stalls, that is the 59%, sell nationally-produced commodities as shown in Map 27. This is specific to Aztecas Street and is related to the specialisation in clothing, which is mainly manufactured in the country. In other cases, for example in Girón Street, which

specialises in plastic toys, markets mainly distribute imported products. The stalls that sell imported Asian goods represent 19.7% of the ASVA market sales, and those that sell a combination of national and imported goods represent 21%. The market distributes a diversity of goods which increases the attraction capacity of the area.

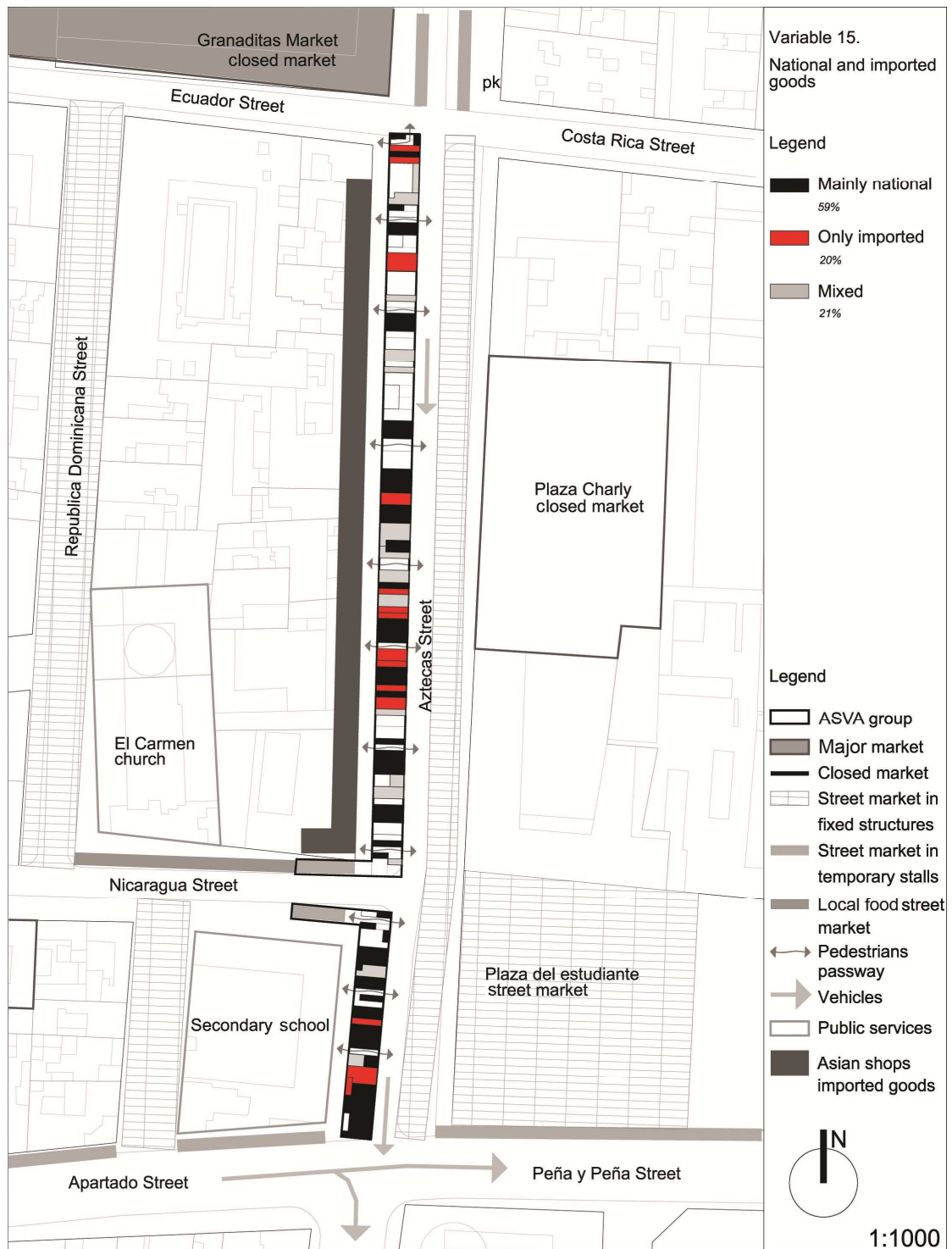
The sale of pirated goods is a common practice in the North Sector market. It is a way to ascribe additional value to the locally-produced products, especially those from Tepito. It is also a strategy aimed at competing with the Asian-imported goods. Most of the pirated goods are produced locally because it is difficult to import such illegal products. There are differences between pirated goods, some of them are identical imitations, called clones, others use the logo of renowned brands, and some are illegal copies of CDs and DVDs, or imitation of perfumes in original bottles, etc. Piracy is part of the attractiveness of the North Sector street market.



Map 25 Specialisation in the Aztecas street market



Map 26 Participation of vendors in the production of goods



Map 27 Origin of goods

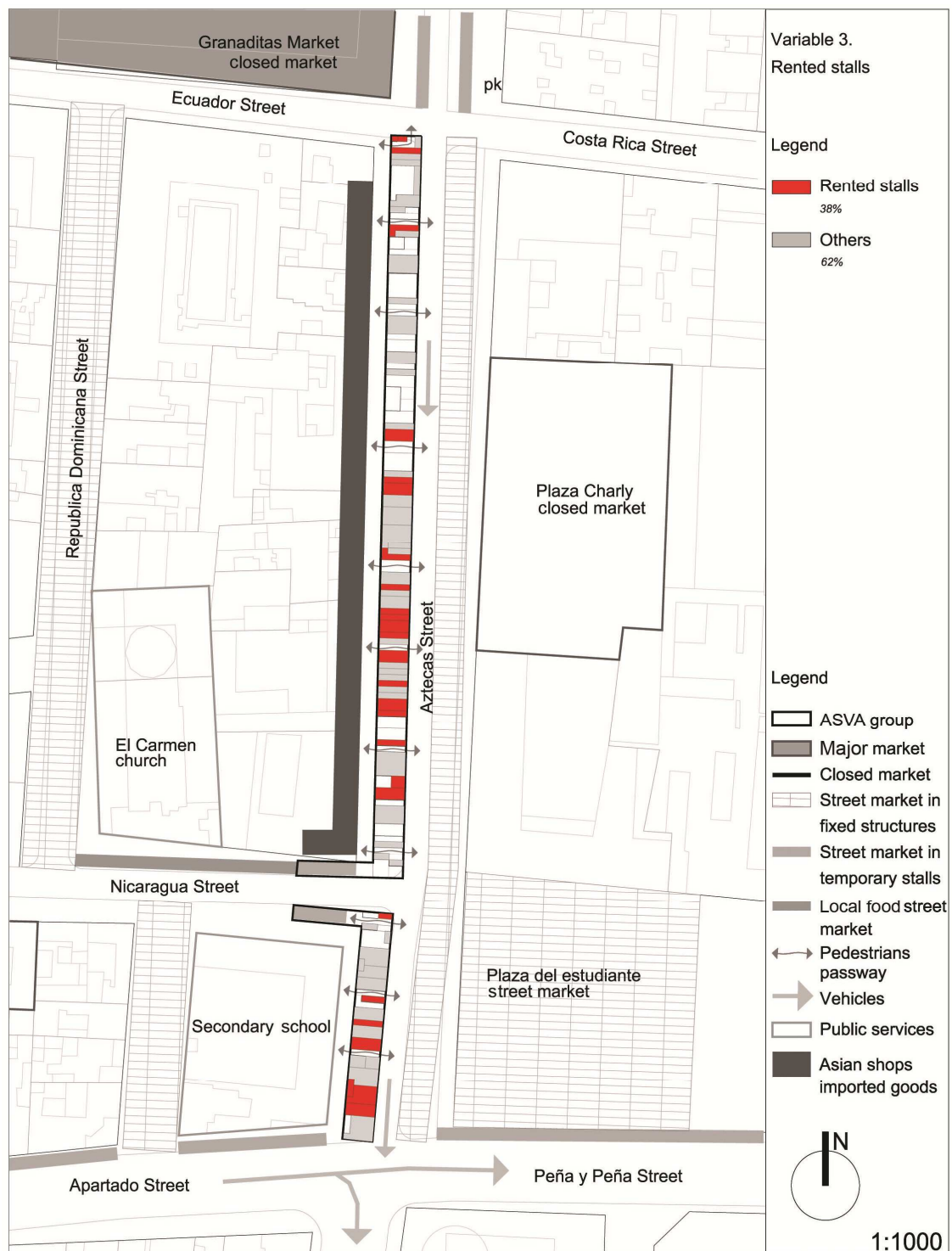
The form that the street takes reflects the commercial strategies the market uses to become an attractive hub for clients. The street becomes a support for a multiplicity of goods distribution networks. The information about the business line and about the origin of products is relevant in order to understand which distribution chains are benefitting from the monetary value added to commodities by distributing them in the

streets. This information is particularly important for the formulation of public policies to prevent that the use of the streets promotes exploitative production-distribution networks.

5.2.6 Rented street-stalls

This section explores the number of rented stalls (variable 3). This aspect is relevant in order to understand the relation between the commercial success of the street market and the increase of the commercial value of the street vending places. As an example of the value that a stall may acquire, I offer some data collected from Tomas's stall on Aztecas Street. He has a 2.5 m² stall which has a value of approximately 10,000 GBP, a higher value than the cost of a 25 m² dwelling in the Tepito area (field interview with Tomas 26/12/2010).

The results of the analysis show that the ASVA rent out 38% of the market stalls, mainly to experienced traders, while 62% of the stalls are operated by the original street vendors or by their family members. Map 28 shows the distribution of the rented stalls in the street. The tendency to rent the stalls may be explained by two reasons. The original vendors are becoming older and since they don't have any pension from the government, renting out the street allows them to have a source of income. The second reason is that renting out the street-stalls could represent an important source of income for the 'owners', without the inconveniences of having to be all day in the market; in fact, renting out or selling the street-stalls is a good business. The 'struggle' that street vendors faced in order to consolidate the street market is used as a legitimising element for this kind of practices.



Map 28 Rented stalls

The positive and negative aspects of the market are difficult to differentiate. It is comprehensible, yet questionable, that old people rent out the stall they have occupied during so many years to make a living. However, renting out the public domain for profit-making is highly questionable, especially when it directly affects the local community, which is unable to use space as before. The street-stalls economic transactions are

considered as the ultimate expression of the capacity of street vending to 'produce' space; not only as a support for the market activities, but as an 'object of exchange', i.e. an asset that can be rented out or sold in a real estate market.

5.2.7 Different categories of street vendors

Four categories of street vendors were created to understand the different groups that form the ASVA. The objective of the analysis is to show that vendors of different profiles have different interests and ways of utilising the street. The categories were created using multivariate statistical analysis; more details are given in the methodology chapter. Four main variables were used as the elements that strongly determine the groups' clustering. These variables are: number of years selling in the city centre, kind of ownership of the street-stall (rented or not), number of family members involved in the operation of the stall, and number of years working with the stall's business line. By using these variables, I was trying to identify those vendors that have been longer in the market and those who have more entrepreneurial profiles and arrived after the market was consolidated. The profiles resulting from this clustering are explained below.

Profile 1 – 'Original street vendors' (32% of the ASVA)

The 'original vendors' category is strongly characterised by traders who have been selling for more than 20 years in the city centre. Most of the street vendors in this group are 'owners' of the street vending place and have family-stalls run by several members. In general, they have advantageous vending locations, such as street corners. Vendors in this category have less specialised business lines, some of them sell 'seasonal' goods which depend on yearly festivities such as Christmas, Valentine's Day, Mother's Day, etc. In order to sell seasonal goods, less understanding of the product and its distribution networks is required. Sales are good and profitable, but these stalls need good locations and visibility to attract clients. The leaders of the ASVA and their families are included in this category: they sell at market corners, stalls are run by family members, and they sell seasonal commodities.

Profile 2 – ‘Inherited stalls’ (17% of the ASVA)

This category is strongly characterised by family-stalls passed down by the original owners to younger family members. Vendors in this category are not renting stalls and several family members are involved in the businesses. The main difference with the ‘original vendors’ category is that vendors are generally young. Many of them, as mentioned before, grew up in the market and developed important abilities to manage the businesses.

Profile 4 – ‘Qualified entrepreneurs’ (30.5% of the ASVA)

The street vendors in this category have a more entrepreneurial profile. Most of them have been working the business line for a long time. Vendors are considered qualified entrepreneurs when they have worked a business line more years than the number of years they have spent selling in the city centre; this means that they were already traders before arriving to the North Sector. Qualified entrepreneurs were attracted to the street market as it offered an appealing opportunity to run a business. Traders in this category have specialised knowledge in the products they sell. Tomas’s family belongs to this category, they are specialised in a specific kind of product, leather products, and they know where it is produced and how it is connected to the distribution networks. Qualified traders in general have direct connections to the producers. Many of the vendors in this category rent the street-stall and have fewer family members working in the business. In general, qualified traders have employees.

This category of vendors is different from profiles one and two. Qualified vendors use the street as a ‘business opportunity’, but their relation to the place is only instrumental. On the other hand, they have considerable to increase the market capacity in order to attract clients. They are able to run successful businesses, and have a higher earning capacity than other vendors. Original vendors prefer to rent out vending places to this category of vendors, as it represents a good income opportunity. Qualified vendors have a higher capacity to increase the commercial value of the places they use to run their businesses in the streets. They get access to the street, and to its protection system, by renting the places from the original vendors, who are members of the vendor unions. The arrival of qualified entrepreneurs shows that street vending generates economic value for the streets, and at certain point, it becomes an exchange-value on itself.

Profile 3 - 'New vendors' (21% of the ASVA)

This category is strongly characterised by street vendors who have been in North Sector area for less than 10 years. Many of them are young and are searching for opportunities to start a business. They have small vending areas, most of them rent the stalls; and, as they don't have experience with a specific product, they choose commodities that are easily sold at low prices, but which also generate low earnings, such as pirated CDs. Some of these vendors come from the State of Mexico; they consider the street market as an opportunity to start a business.

The analysis shows that different categories of street vendors have a different relation to space. For original vendors and their families, most of them local residents, the street-stalls are a 'family-business', a 'capital' that they preserve over time from generation to generation, and an 'asset' they can rent out or sell to other traders, especially to those who come from other city areas. For qualified entrepreneurs, the street market is a profitable business opportunity. Lastly, for new, young vendors the street market is an opportunity to start a business; the market offers opportunities to low-skilled entrepreneurs. The street market becomes a valuable opportunity for multiple categories of vendors who are ready to pay a rent to start or run a business in the area, which creates a 'real estate' market for the streets.

In conclusion of the socio-spatial analysis of the ASVA, the street market shows capacity to evolve over time, to integrate new categories of vendors, to implement coherent commercial strategies at larger territorial scales, and to create employment and to support a diversity of production-distribution networks. In addition, the analysis shows that the market becomes a 'working place' for vendors who come from other areas and a 'family-capital' for the local community.

The market started as a 'temporary' activity, but as it becomes more permanent and efficient, vendors tend to keep the stalls as an 'asset' that they can either use as a vending place or rent it out to other vendors. The exchange-value of the street-stalls is generated from the market's capacity to offer attractive business opportunities to people willing to pay the price to run a business in the area, especially qualified entrepreneurs. The commodification of space, i.e. renting out or selling the street as a commodity, is the ultimate, and more evident, expression of the process of 'production of space'; in fact, as the market's organisation becomes stable and efficient, the street changes its properties

into those of a flexible, multi-functional asset and becomes a highly organised business place.

5.3 Tomas's street-stall on Aztecas Street

This section presents an in-depth analysis of Tomas's street-stall on Aztecas Street. The analysis explores two aspects: the entrepreneurial ability of Tomas to use the street to enhance the performance of his business and the role that his street-stall plays in relation to the different goods' distribution chains. The analysis is done to support the following arguments. Firstly, the street-stalls in the Tepito market play a relevant role in the distribution of commodities coming from diverse origins; these connections are possible because of the entrepreneurial abilities of the street vendors. Secondly, the commodities increase their commercial value by 'changing hands' in the distribution chain; different locations, such as the Tepito market, play an important role in this process. Lastly, the fact that the street-stalls generate exchange-value out of the street as they are a means for profitable businesses. Thus, the street becomes a 'commercial asset' on itself.

Furthermore, the logic that the street-business follow to enhance the efficiency of the commercial system, specifically the connections it establishes with different spatial elements and locations, promotes the emergence of new patterns of space organisation. This section is divided in three parts: the first section explains Tomas's profile as a qualified entrepreneur, the second explains the kinds of goods sold at the stall, and the third explores the distribution chains of two different kinds of commodities.

5.3.1 Tomas's capabilities

Tomas is a highly qualified street entrepreneur. He grew up in the market, participated in the daily operations and learned from his parents how to run a business in the streets. His family has extensive experience in the leather wallets business line; in fact, his grandfather had a leather shop on El Carmen Street. His parents had a street-stall in Colombia Street and later in Aztecas Street. Tomas is also a local resident; he lives with his family in a *vecindad* on Perú Street. As many people did, Tomas's family came to the city centre when his grandfather called his son, Tomas's father, to help him with the business.

Tomas started running his own stall in Aztecas Street at 23 years old; as mentioned before, he has a college degree in psychology. He preferred to be a street entrepreneur, to have his own business, to make his own decisions and to have control of his own time. Being a successful street entrepreneur can be highly satisfying, especially when one is able to do successful transactions; Tomas didn't have this feeling while he worked as an employee. He knows that his economic success depends upon his own effort and capabilities; he is motivated to invest time and effort to make his stall more successful. The motivation and the capabilities of local entrepreneurs are important factors that explain the transformation of the neighbourhood into a commercial organisation.

There are three employees working at the stall, alongside Tomas. One of the employees is an illegal immigrant from South America; he is happy to work in the market because otherwise he would find it difficult to get a job without legal documentation. In an interview with another employee, Sara, a 17-year-old, told me that her future aspiration is to have her own stall and become a street vendor. She dropped out from school and dedicated herself entirely to street vending in order to learn how to run a business; Tomas has become a role model for her. For Sara, the market is not her last opportunity for survival; in fact, to become a street entrepreneur is her dream. Sara's mother, for example, is an employee at the market. She works with Tomas's parents on Aztecas Street and lives in a rented apartment in Tepito, which belongs to Tomas's family. These examples show that social relations are important for the operation of the market and promote a relation of loyalty and mutual help between local vendors and workers.

Tomas's profile shows that street traders adapt and evolve and they learn how to improve their commercial strategies from generation to generation. In addition, young traders introduce new technologies and use family and social relations to enhance their business. For example, Tomas started using his blackberry phone to do some business transactions with clients who have businesses in distant regions of the country. Customers request a list of commodities, make the payment on-line and, when the money is received, the goods are shipped to the place they want. The street market is highly resilient because families have acquired experience and abilities over time. Knowledge was transmitted to younger members, who have the opportunity to get involved with new ideas, technologies and capabilities.

5.3.2 The diversity and specialisation of products

Tomas's stall has 2.5 m² and offers more than 100 different products in two main business lines: wrestling masks and leather wallets, see Figure 39. The stall has approximately 70 different products within the wallets business line, and 30 within the wrestling masks. Tomas likes *lucha libre*, the professional wrestling style practiced in Mexico; thus, he started selling wrestling goods in his stall. Almost 80% of sales are wholesale, while only 20% is retail. The North Sector street market is an important node of distribution of low-priced commodities at regional scale.

Eighty-five percent of the products sold in Tomas's stall are locally-produced, presumably in the metropolitan area, 10% are Asian-imports and 5% are pirated wallets produced in Tepito. Therefore, the stall supports a diversity of distribution chains. Products from different origins offer different advantages and prices to end consumers. For example, local production of wallets use top-quality leather, but because they are produced manually in general they have a simple design (1.75 GBP, 35 MXN). In contrast, imported wallets are made with lower quality leather, but they have additional pockets and accessories, and the cost is lower than locally produced ones (1.4 GBP, 28 MXN). Tepito produces high-quality wallets as they use top-quality leather and good design; in fact, Tepito is renowned for its leather artisans. The strategy to add value to Tepito leather wallets is to clone those of famous brands or add pirated labels of brands such as Louis Vuitton, Tommy Hilfiger, Lacoste, etc. (7.5 GBP, 150 MXN). By connecting to different production chains, Tomas's stall offers a variety of products with different advantages and prices.

Goods are displayed in a certain way to attract customers. Stalls full of goods are more attractive, so vendors tend to use all available space to display as many products as possible. Street traders also use strategies such as packaging with cellophane wraps. Every little space is very valuable in the street market, so optimisation is very important. Every element in the stall is located in a very strategic position.



Aaron's stall on Aztecas Street
Source: A. LO 2011



Figure 39 Tomas's stall in Aztecas Street

Tomas has been working with leather wallets since he was a child; therefore, he has specialised knowledge about the product he sells, about how to display it and about how much he has to invest in the different kinds of products. He innovates by trying out different goods, like the wrestling masks, but he knows that even if the new product fails, he will sell a minimum of the other goods. Specialised knowledge on the leather business line gives Tomas confidence and security to run and enhance the performance of his street-business. The capabilities of the street entrepreneurs to run successful street businesses are important to understand the evolution of the commercial role and value of the streets.

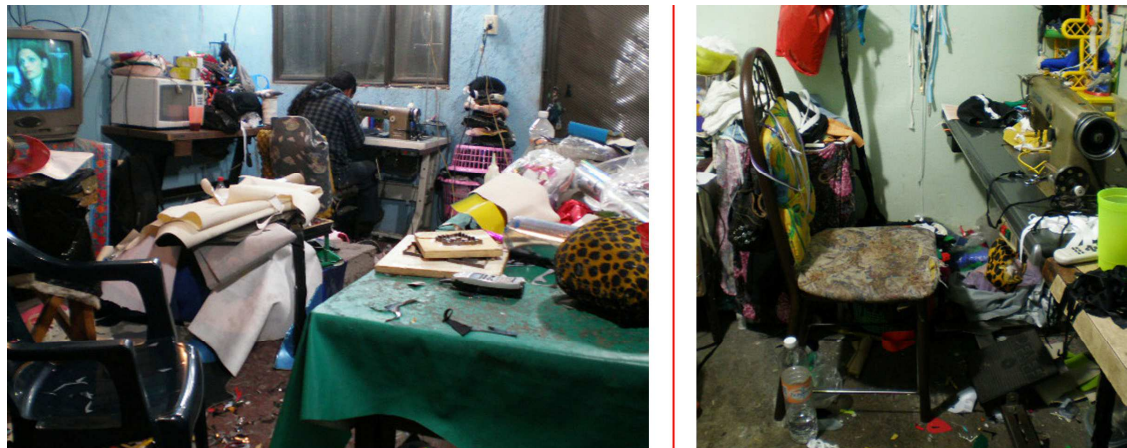
5.3.3 Tracing commodities: the case of the wrestling masks

The wrestling masks that Tomas sells in his stall are produced in Aragón, a neighbourhood located 20 minutes east from the city centre, as shown in Figure 40. I visited the house where the masks are produced by a family, in a sort of cottage industry, which operates in the informal economy, see Figure 41. The family has been producing such masks for 45 years. They live and manufacture the masks in the same house; the productive activities take place on the first floor, while the living spaces are distributed on the ground floor. The household is formed by the parents and their married sons and daughters. All the members, even the children, in one form or another, participate in the production of the masks by cutting, sewing or decorating them. The street market is important for them because they have the possibility to distribute their products and continue their family-business.

The family produces a total of 500 masks per week, in addition to 200 other masks of a more intricate design. The production capacity is limited to that amount, as every part of the production is handmade. The masks are sold directly to wholesalers, like Tomas, and to export businesses. The family also has a street stall outside Arena México, the wrestling arena in the city, but they only sell during the weekends. Wholesalers distribute the product to retail vendors in the national territory, while export businesses distribute the masks to countries like the United States of America, Australia and France. In fact, Mexican wrestling masks are well known internationally; they are identified with Mexican culture.



Figure 40 Place of production of wrestling masks



Manufacturing of wrestling masks distributed in Aaron's stall
Source: LO 2011

Figure 41 Manufacturing of wrestling masks

Similar products have been copied and produced by Asian production chains, and are massively imported to Mexico. The wrestling masks still are a handmade product. One of the members of the family explained that wrestlers change their masks frequently, some of them almost every week, by having some slight modifications made to the original design. Customers want the most recent version of the mask; yet, importers can't follow the speed of change with their industrial mode of production. This is the reason why they were able to protect their product from imitation. The producers of other locally-manufactured products continually search for commercial strategies to remain in the market and be able to compete with Asian imports.

Figure 42 indicates the places where the wrestling masks 'change hands' in the distribution chain. Tomas buys the product from the family that produces them, this is indicated with the number '1'; producers add 20% to the cost of the raw materials. Tomas sells the masks at his stall on Aztecas Street, indicated with the number '2'; in this step a 30% is added to the original value of the mask.

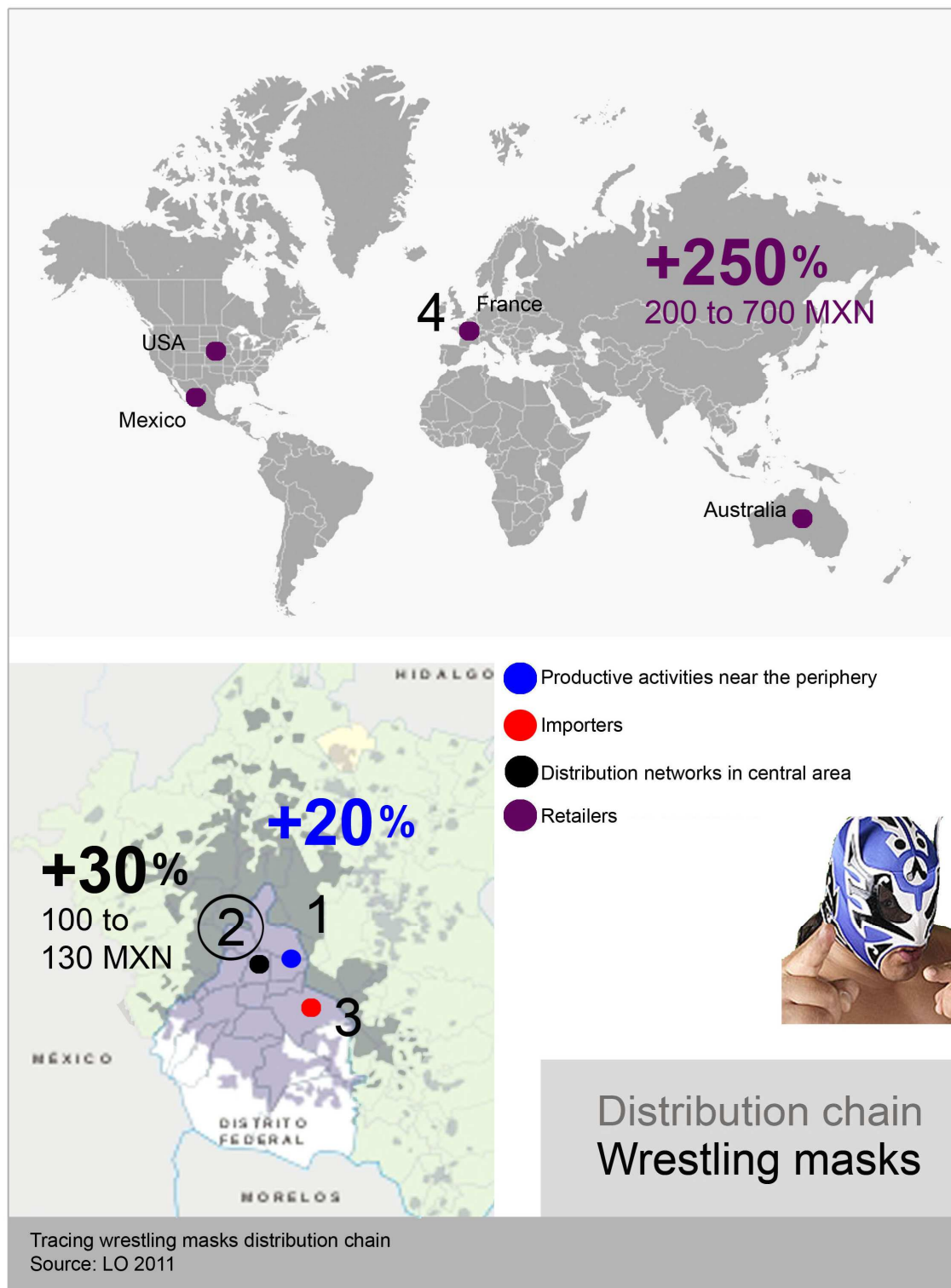


Figure 42 Production-distribution chain and product added value

Then, Tomas sells the masks to an important client, who has an exports company on the outskirts of the city area. The owner of the company doesn't know where the masks are produced, so he is forced to come to Aztecas market to find the product. Tomas was able to contact the producers by using his social networks; in fact, some members of the

family that produces the masks are also street vendors. The exports company sends the masks to retail shops located in France, some of which distribute the masks through the internet. A Mexican wrestling mask sold in France costs approximately 35 GBP, which means that the mask, in its way from Mexico to France passing through Tepito, increased its original value in 250%. The increment in commercial value of the product is generated by the movement from one place to another, and by changing hands in the process of distribution. The case of the wrestling masks shows that the North Sector street market plays a role in the product's generation of added value.

The ability of the street entrepreneurs, which is reflected in the performance of the business, contributes to the increase in the value of the streets; in fact, the more successful the street businesses are, the more the streets become valuable assets. Furthermore, the way street-stalls operate, connecting different goods distribution chains, contributes to the establishment of new relations between the streets and other places involved in the production and distribution of goods. As seen in the case of Tomas, the stall becomes a 'cornerstone' in the product's distribution network, this is because Tomas is able to establish a direct connection with the producers, or exporters, and is able to offer the best price in the market. The added value of the North Sector, as a street marketplace, relies on the production-distribution connections that the market supports; indeed, the market facilitates exchanges between different, and alternative, production-distribution networks.

5.3.4 Tracing commodities: the case of the imported Chinese leather wallets

The North Sector has established important commercial connections with Chinese and Korean importers; in fact, there is an emerging community of Asian nationals in the Tepito neighbourhood. Some local entrepreneurs have started to travel to China in search of business opportunities. Tomas buys the leather wallets that he sells in his stall directly from Asian importers. Importers ship the goods from China, especially from the port of Guangzhou, and use their connections in the North Sector area, among other centralised vending points, to distribute their goods to end consumers.

Figure 43 indicates the production-distribution chain followed by the wallets. An exact detail of how goods change hands was not available. Information is difficult to obtain, in some cases even traders don't know how goods move. To analyse this aspect in depth, a special methodology is required.

The Asian wallets 'look good'; they have several pockets and a more sophisticated design than the locally-produced ones, but they are made with low-quality materials. Importers do not offer a wide variety of designs; they only carry the most conventional models, such as the traditional coin-pocket wallets. They cannot use pirated brands as it would be impossible to import the goods. Thus, goods from Asian origin compete by offering low-priced, nice-looking products, at the expense of material quality. Tomas has clients who come to buy a new wallet every year, they had tried Asian products, but most of them went back to the traditional wallets because they recognised that they are better quality. Tomas's main objective is to offer a variety of products to cover the needs of a diversity of customers. Having a diversified offer is convenient for wholesalers who come from other cities and regions because they can find the necessary supply for their shops concentrated in only one stall. The role of Tomas is to establish direct contact with producers or importers of specialised distribution networks so that he can offer a variety of products to the market customers at the best prices.

The wallets are produced in China; this is indicated with the number '1'. Goods are imported and distributed by Asian networks in the North Sector; this is indicated with the number '2'. Tomas buys the wallets directly from importers and sells them at his stall in the Aztecas street market; this is marked with the number '3'. To fix the price, Tomas adds 30% to the value of the product, as he does with all the products he sells at his stall. Street vendors retailing in vending points throughout the metropolitan area or in other regions of the national territory come to the North Sector area to restock their stalls. In this market, they can find better prices and more variety; this step is indicated with the number '4'. Only in the last distribution stage, from Tomas's stall to the end consumer, the value of the product increases by 50% of its value. The percentage reveals that products generate value by 'changing hands', and that the street market plays an important role in this process. Tomas's stall is valuable in commercial terms because the market offers opportunities to develop successful businesses, i.e. customers and strategic connections. Not all vendors can fully exploit the streets' potential because this requires a vision and commercial and managerial abilities.

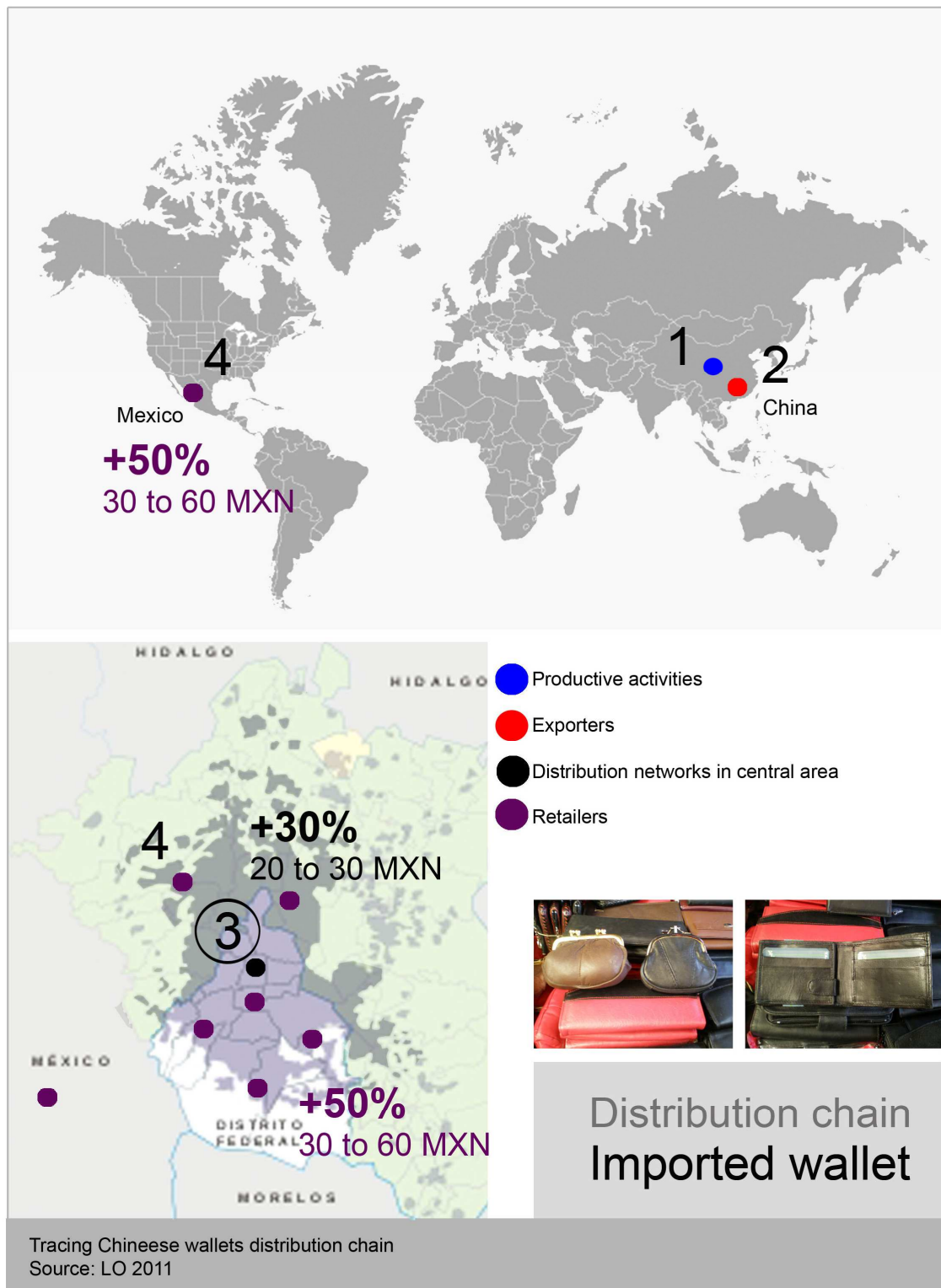


Figure 43 Wallets production-distribution chain

The new connections between the North Sector and the different, local and transnational, distribution chains promote the emergence of new configurations of space. This means that a wallet produced in China will acquire value by being distributed in the North Sector streets. New commercial and spatial relations emerge as the market connects to

different production-distribution supply chains, located in a multiplicity of places. The relation '*vecindades*-streets', that once characterised the Tepito neighbourhood, constituted a productive-spatial structure. The productive activities, most of them related to shoemaking, took place in the old *vecindades* while the distribution activities took place at the street stalls. This structure that supported a local economy was altered by the new spatial and commercial relations established by the street market.

In conclusion of this Chapter, the market operates at different scales: sector, street and stall levels. Each of these scales has a different logic, from a more collective to a more individual. At the sector scale, the territory achieves commercial coherence because street vendors are able to understand the role that space plays for the operation of the market as a whole. There is nothing like a master plan, but traders know, for example, that the market 'facade' is important, as well as certain corridors; they also know that specialisation of the streets is a successful commercial strategy. Traders are able to implement spatial strategies to enhance the potential of the territory as a market place. The street scale where unions play a double but intertwined role is particularly important. On the one hand they develop political alliances that allow them to gain control over certain territories; on the other, they organise and manage the street market in social and spatial terms.

The unions are particularly important to bond, 'keep together' and relate the individual vendors with the market organisation at larger scales. The stall scale works on a family or individual basis. Regardless of its small size, this scale is the point of contact between different distribution chains and the market customers. We should keep in mind that the objective of the whole commercial organisation is to facilitate the transactions at the stall-scale.

5.4 Chapter conclusions

This Chapter supports the idea that street vending produces complex, highly resilient and commercial-efficient configurations of space. Street vending produces territories that work as a sophisticated commercial apparatus. In social terms, the street market has renovation capacity by integrating different vendor profiles. Vendors are able to transform space, especially the streets, and make of it a 'business opportunity' for qualified entrepreneurs, 'a family-capital' for original vendors, and a 'working place' for

unqualified individuals (mainly young people) that would like to explore street vending as a way to make a living.

Production of space through street vending refers not only to a 'group of actors' utilising the street for their own commercial benefits, but above all to a 'commercial socio-spatial system' that generates new relations in space and alters the existing ones. The process is considered 'a production' to emphasise the capacity of the system to reduce a territory, and a community-organised neighbourhood, to its commercial functions.

Chapter 6

Ravaging the neighbourhood



Chapter 5 explored the commercial efficiency of the street vending system and its capacity to form complex, multilayered structures in space. In this chapter, I explore the expansion of the street market in relation to the increase of vulnerability of the neighbourhood. Two aspects are considered to define vulnerability; the reduction of the spaces that organise the social life of the neighbourhood and the capacity of the community to maintain stewardship of their neighbourhood.

Three specific analyses are developed in this chapter. The first focuses on the social organisation of the neighbourhood at the North Sector scale; the second and third explore the transformation of the uses and spatial relations of two *vecindades*. The hypothesis is that the street vending system needs to dismantle the organisation of the territory, as a community milieu, in order to be able to gain control over space and shape it to carry out its commercial operations.

6.1 The socio-spatial organisation of the neighbourhood

The analysis focuses on the elements that organise the social life of the neighbourhood: the 'centres' of the neighbourhood, the open spaces, the public buildings and the housing typologies. The analysis explores the role that these elements play in the organisation of the neighbourhood and how they have been affected by the expansion of the street market.

6.1.1 The centres of the neighbourhood

As explained in the historical review, there have been neighbourhoods in the North Sector since the Aztec period. These settlements were originally established around the pre-Hispanic temples, which were converted into Christian churches after the Spanish conquest. The Catholic temples have an open space associated to them, a forecourt called *atrio*⁹² in Spanish. The churches and the open spaces became the ‘centres’ of the social-religious life of the neighbourhoods.

The neighbourhood of Tepito has a pre-Hispanic origin⁹³. Santa Catarina and Santa Ana were established during the Colonial period, and El Carmen was settled after the dismantlement of the convent of the same name in 1868⁹⁴.

In the late 19th century, these traditional neighbourhoods were integrated into the expanding city, and became a part of the Cuauhtémoc and Venustiano Carranza boroughs. The Tepito community has a particular story; even when it was integrated into the city’s layout it kept the social cohesion and developed a specific identity over time. Locals say Tepito has been since the Spanish conquest a ‘resisting neighbourhood’, in Spanish *‘barrio en resistencia’*.

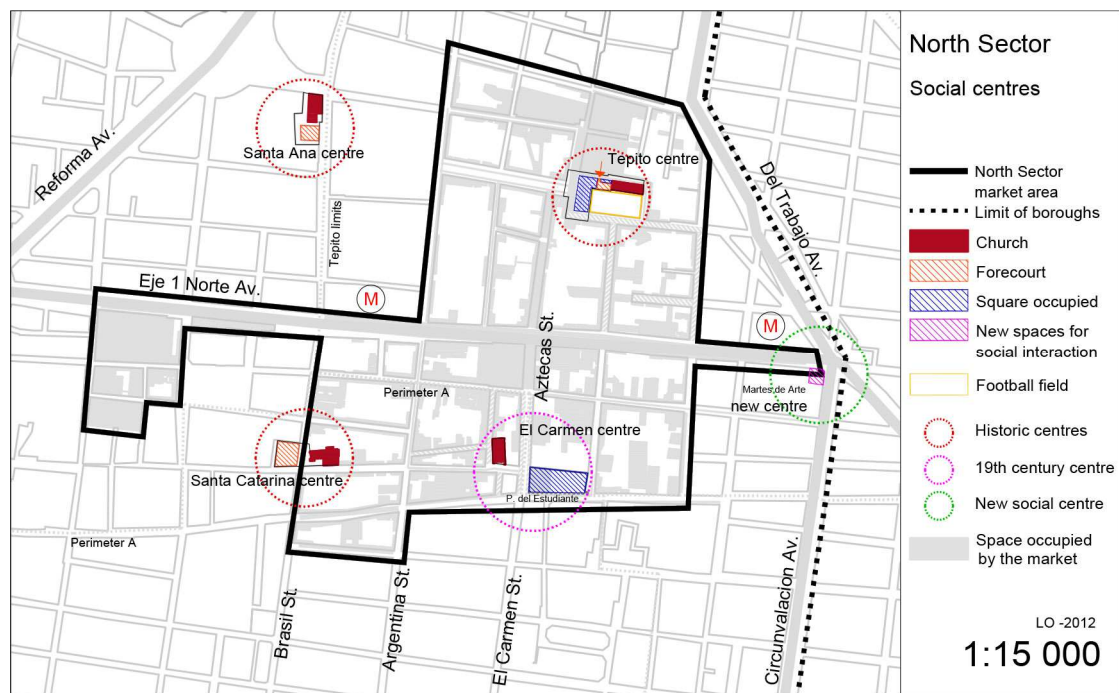
The four religious centres are shown in Map 29; three of them are inside the North Sector area. Tepito and El Carmen are particularly relevant to observe how the centres of the community life were destroyed by the expansion of the market activities. Tepito and El

⁹² The indigenous population was not used to participating in religious ceremonies inside the church so a forecourt, called *atrio* in Spanish, clearly integrated into the church area in front of it, was used to carry out ceremonies in the open space. In some cases, the *atrio* of the church was converted into a public space.

⁹³ The San Francisco Tepito church was constructed in the 16th century by the Spanish conquerors. The church was almost destroyed in 1629 and rebuilt in 1932, the tower of the church was built in 1743 (Aréchiga Córdoba 2003). Natives called the church *teocali-tepito*, little temple, which is where the Tepito neighbourhood’s name derives from (Cecilio Robelo dictionary of words with Aztec origin in Alfonso Hernández 2011). This Church was superposed on an indigenous temple; it is said that when the temple was built, religious relics were hidden in the temple. Reconstruction of the temples facilitated the integration of the population into the Catholic neighbourhood. San Francisco was chosen as a patron, as he represented the values related to this ‘humble’ neighbourhood.

⁹⁴ El Carmen was a convent constructed on the limits of the Spanish City. This site was strategic because it was near to the city’s core area and two important canals were close: Apartado canal, transformed into the present-day Apartado-Perú Street, and Tezontlali canal, transformed into the present-day Eje 1 Norte Avenue. A third and secondary canal crossed the convent grounds. The convent was dismantled in 1868 as a result of a constitutional amendment, in which it was specified that the properties of the Church belong to the State.

Carmen do not have official limits and the area they occupy varies depending on different interpretations⁹⁵.



Map 29 Centres of the neighbourhood

The Tepito main square has been used as an open street market since the early 20th century. The street market was relocated to the closed markets in the late 1950s. After the street market was cleared, a football pitch was created in the square. The area immediately in front of the church remained a court.

The street market was part of the Tepito neighbourhood until the 1980s; it co-existed with other uses of space until the expansion of the *fayuca* market. The rapid expansion of the market started occupying the streets entirely, making it difficult to access the church and its court. The square has been substantially reduced; the access to the square has been indicated with an arrow on the map. The church and the square lost accessibility. The market extension changed the configuration of the area; the Tepito centre became a kind of 'backyard' for the street market.

Figure 44 shows the Tepito centre before and after the expansion of the market. Nowadays, the market surrounds the space in front of the church, which is only

⁹⁵ I use the limits proposed by Arregui Solano et al. 1982 to be coherent with the information used from this source.

accessible from a corridor between street stalls. It is clear that this space has lost its function as the social centre of the neighbourhood.



Figure 44 Transformation of the Tepito centre

El Carmen convent was dismantled in late 19th century; the main church was maintained and a square, called '*Plaza del Estudiante*', was created. A public building for foreign students was constructed in front of the square. This building is considered a National Monument and it is the reason why the UNESCO Monuments' Zone (Perimeter A) includes the area within its limits. The surrounding streets have been occupied by street vendors since the early 20th century, especially Apartado Street. Street vending at that time was complementary to the social and recreational activities of the area. The square was particularly important for the community because the area is densely urbanised and it lacks open and green spaces. Map 29 shows these two centres of the local communities.

During an interview with members of the Arte Acá cultural group, Luis, a renowned shoemaker in the neighbourhood, told me the following anecdotes referring to the transformation of these spaces.

After the expansion of the *fayuca* market, the Tepito church went into several economic crises. Few people came to the masses or to celebrate weddings or girls' fifteenth birthday celebration, a classical festivity in Mexican culture. In fact, street vendors teased the brides and their guests while they walked down the commercial streets because they were dressed elegantly. Vendors whistled and shouted flirtatious remarks, creating an embarrassing situation. Nowadays, the church survives because the drug cartels invest money in maintaining the building as a way to compensate the community. But, it no

longer operates as a centre of social life, in part, because the nearby streets are densely occupied by the street market, so this place is difficult to access.

In relation to *Plaza del Estudiante* square, Luis explained that he used to meet his family at the square every day after work; this was the only square with a garden in the nearby area. His children played while he and his wife waited for them, it was a kind of a daily routine. During the 1980s and 1990s, the market was expanding quickly but the square was the last bastion of social life. In 2007, city authorities allowed street vendors to occupy the square, which then became an extension of the street market. The last public space in the neighbourhood was lost.

New spaces for social life emerged on the limits of the street market and on the periphery of the neighbourhood, as shown in Map 29. One of the most important sites is called 'Martes de Arte' square, located in front of the Tepito subway station, at the junction of Eje 1 and Del Trabajo avenues as shown in Figure 45. The place was an abandoned plot reconverted by the community into a place for gathering. The local community dances, talks, and spends time together at this place; which has become an alternative solution for the community. In 2008, the community got funding from the city government to renovate the area through the Upgrading Neighbourhoods' Programme (*Programa de Mejoramiento Barrial*) implemented by the city government through the Secretariat of Social Development (SEDESO). However, this space is not properly connected to the city's fabric to become a centre of the neighbourhood.

The metallic structures were removed from the front of the plot to render it more accessible to people. The street vendors mobilised and distributed a flyer arguing this represented an aggression to the market. They asked the community to stop the divisions that existed between groups and to keep collaborating together to defend the 'community's interests' in order to preserve the union of Tepito as its main source of strength (CETEPIS 2012). This example shows the conflicts within the different groups of the community, especially between those whose interests are related to the market and those who need spaces to develop the 'social life' of the community.



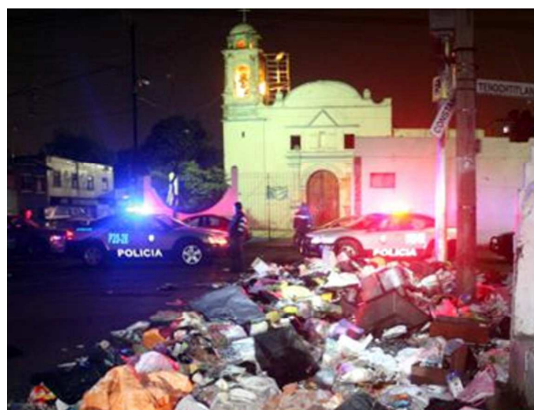
Martes de Arte square
Source: LO 2013



Figure 45 Alternative social centre in Tepito

The cultural group Arte Acá tried to involve young people and residents to participate in the events. But as the group explained, they didn't receive much collaboration from street traders because they have less time since they work all day in a very noisy environment and in the evenings they are exhausted; therefore, they rarely participate in the social life of the neighbourhood as they used to.

Figure 46 shows La Conchita church, a secondary centre in the north of Tepito. The image clearly shows the littering problem in the neighbourhood. In fact, the Tepito market produces approximately 60 tons of garbage per day (Sánchez Valverde 2009). This small church was the place where the last Aztec king lost the battle against the Spanish conquerors. This space is a centre of social life, but it is also a symbolic place for Mexican history. This space remains disconnected from the city and has been transformed into an 'underground' space.



A. Conchita church
Source: La Jornada newspaper, LO 2013



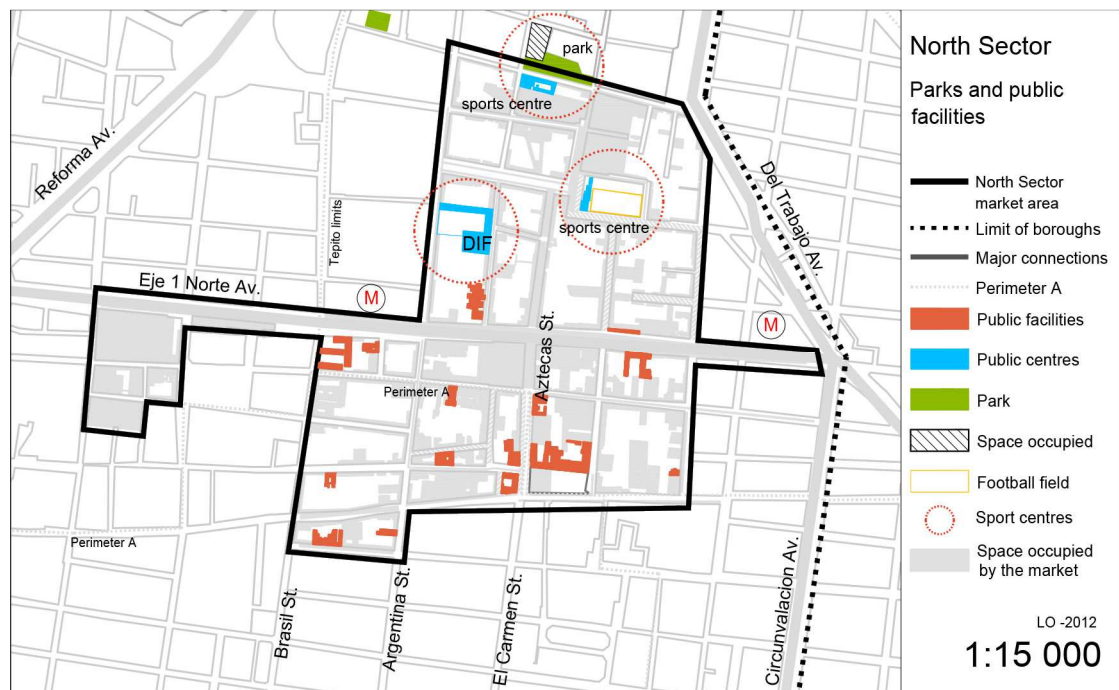
B. Flea market behind the Conchita church

Figure 46 La Conchita church

Traditional centres of social life have been destroyed. The extensive appropriation street markets have enacted has changed the configuration of the neighbourhood by transforming the 'centres' into 'residual areas'. This shows that the market has imposed its use and logic over the territory. This transformation has also changed the 'rituals' and the 'pace of time' that were part of neighbourhood's social life as well as the diversity of uses that characterised public spaces.

6.1.2 Parks and public facilities

The Tepito neighbourhood has few green spaces, there is only one park located on Rivero Street, as shown in Map 30.



Map 30 Parks and public facilities

The park has basketball courts, a playground for children and a small garden. However, the basketball courts are used as a parking zone for market clients, as shown in Figure 47, which leaves few spaces for recreation. This place is often used for the distribution of drugs, and it has become one of the most dangerous places in the neighbourhood. The problem with parks, as noticed by Jane Jacobs (1961), is that they can work as centres that promote social life and bring the local community together, but if they are not properly integrated into the urban space, the effect can be the complete opposite. This park is surrounded by the market; the back of the stalls is to the park and the front to the

streets. The market functions as buffer zone by attracting clients and hiding spaces where drugs are distributed. This space has lost its role as a public park and has become a hub for delinquency.



Figure 47 Parks in relation to the street market

The neighbourhood does not have a lack of public services, as shown in Map 30. It has several public schools at primary (6 years), lower secondary (3 years) and upper secondary (3 years), a recently built community centre, a health centre, three cultural buildings and two sport facilities. This can explain why the neighbourhood is still attractive as a residential area for some social categories. The social assistance centre, part of the National System for Integral Family Development (*Sistema Nacional para el Desarrollo Integral de la Familia*, or simply DIF), was constructed in 2008, in the heart of Tepito, in the plot that used to be occupied by the *vecindad* No. 40 on Tenochtitlán Street, which was renowned for the distribution of drugs. This centre promotes sports and other activities; it is a real centre for social life, especially for young people. The neighbourhood has other two sport centres. In fact, the practice of sports was an important activity in the neighbourhood especially in the 1960s and 1970s. International renowned boxing champions, like Ratón Macías, were from Tepito and represented an example of success for local people.

The problem of the Tepito neighbourhood in relation to public facilities resides in the lack of open spaces, parks and squares, as they have all been invaded by the street market or used as parking zones for the market customers. Parks have been transformed into areas that promote criminal activities and have lost their function as centres of social life.

6.1.3 Uses and housing typologies

The analysis shows that Tepito is an area where its residential use is still important. Its density has diminished as many dwellings are now used as storage places, workshops, toilets or other market facilities. But, there are still 40,000 residents in the neighbourhood.

In the Tepito neighbourhood, the collective housing predominates. There are three main categories of collective houses: *vecindades*, renovation units and housing estates⁹⁶. 'Renovation units' are *vecindades* that were reconstructed after the 1985 earthquake.

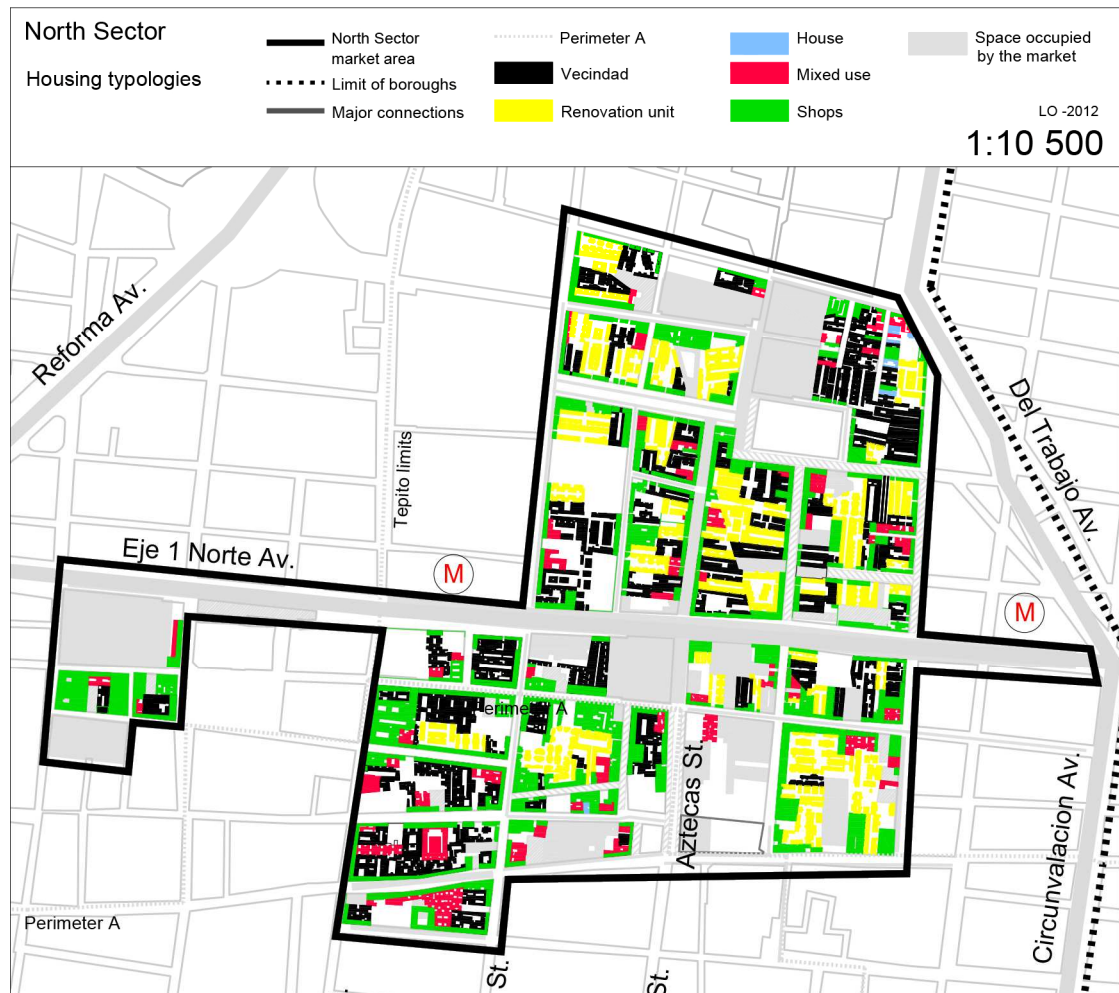
Map 31 shows the *vecindades* that still exist in dark blue and the renovation units in blue. These two typologies dominate the residential use in the area. As shown in chapter 5, land value is high in Tepito especially considering that it is a 'working class' neighbourhood. Dwellings are rented at good prices as storage places, offices, manufacturing units, etc. However, quality of life is low due to the conditions of life in the neighbourhood: drugs related problems, noise, garbage, illicit activities, violence, impossibility to walk calmly in the streets, etc. Many local residents have decided to stay because they have family members, friends and businesses in the neighbourhood. In many ways, Tepito still functions like a village where community members are known or related to each other in one way or another.

Three categories of residents can be identified: members of the local community that stay because they have businesses in the neighbourhood; people who work in the market and rent a dwelling in the area; and family members of the original owners. The analyses of the *vecindades* provide more details about these categories.

Map 31 shows the relationship between the residential uses and the shops. Most of the plots have shops to the streets. The entrances to collective houses are almost invisible from the outside; they have a small corridor that connects the street to the houses located in the back part of the block. This location is partly convenient because their location protects dwellings from the market's noise; conversely, it promotes that estates and units function as 'fortresses', hiding illegal activities, like the distribution of drugs and the piracy of CDs, in the patios and the dwellings themselves.

⁹⁶ There are two main housing estates in Tepito known as Los palomares and La fortaleza. The form of the estates, especially La Fortaleza, was suitable for the distribution of drugs. The access of the apartments was perfect places where drugs distributors waited for clients.

Map 31 shows that the commercial activities dominate the streets, while the residential uses take place in the core part of the plots. The relation between the dwellings and the streets is not direct; it is mediated by the commercial activities. The 'residence-street' relation is important to preserve the 'social life' of the streets. This relation has been broken by the commercial activities.



Map 31 Distribution of housing typologies

Although Tepito still has an important function as a residential and community area, the analysis shows that the street market expansion tends to take over spaces that promote the social life of the community, for example, the centres of the neighbourhood, the parks and the streets. The analysis also shows that the occupation of these spaces has also changed the spatial configuration of the area, namely, the relation between residences and the streets, the emergence of new social centres on the periphery, the dismantlement of previous centres, and the creation of hubs for delinquency. The emerging configuration of space dismantles and weakens the social organisation of the Tepito neighbourhood.

6.2 Transformation of the *vecindad* No. 63 on Aztecas St.

The analysis explores the transformation of the *vecindad* by comparing the role it played in the organisation of the community in the 1960s, and how this role has evolved recently⁹⁷. The objective is to show to what extent the expansion of the market has affected the spatial and social organisation of the local community. As explained in the methodology chapter, the *vecindad* was chosen as a representative space of the community organisation of Tepito. In fact, the *vecindad* played an important role in promoting social relations and values that consolidated the community.

The analysis combines spatial analysis and decoding social space as methods to explore the connexions between the form of space in its physical aspects and its form as a social construct. The analysis shows the different uses of the spaces and the spatial relations between these different uses.

3.2.1 The *vecindad* in the 1960s

The *vecindad* emerged as a solution to low-cost housing. This housing typology was created for middle and upper classes, but in Tepito it was adapted to the needs of migrants coming into the city after the Mexican Revolution.

The *vecindad* No. 63, located on Aztecas Street, belonged to a rich lady who lived on El Carmen Street, a few blocks south towards the City Centre core area. The residents paid a monthly rent to live in the *vecindad*. They organised among themselves to collect the payments. As mentioned before, a tenant was paid if he moved out, which was called a *traspaso*, and it was equivalent to the use-value that the person had generated by living in the place. This is important in two ways, on one hand, residents considered the *vecindad* as something that belonged to them, something that could be appropriated by them, even if the property was not theirs. This conception was important in the formation of the idea of space as a 'collective asset' in a particular way. On the other hand, space belonged to everybody in equal terms, but at the same time it could be used for individual purposes. This notion was at the core of the formation of a united community in the *vecindad*.

The *vecindad* had 16 rooms/dwellings around a central patio. Dwellings only consisted of a 25 m² room, and in some cases they included a mezzanine. On the street frontage, the

⁹⁷ The analysis was done using 2011 updated information of the *vecindad*.

vecindad had two shops, one was a corner shop that sold basic goods for locals, and the second was a shop that bought used glass bottles. The toilets and washing places were shared facilities. The residents were also responsible for cleaning or repairing them if needed. This organisation required the community to engage with and self-manage its own space.

The decoration of the Virgin Tony's altar and the organisation of the multiple festivities were also in charge of the residents, especially the *posadas* and the *sonideros*⁹⁸. The festivities played an important role in the community; the *vecindades* became important places that organised the social life of the community.

Uses of the *vecindad*

Almost half of the dwellings, this is 6 out of 14, were used only for residential purposes. Figure 48 shows the plan of the *vecindad*. Other 6 out of 14 rooms were used as residential and production units. All of these families were shoemakers dedicated to one specialised task in the shoe production process. Four families used the *vecindad* as a place to live and as a place to run an economic activity as their livelihood. The family who lived in room No. 4 had a press workshop in room No. 12. The family who lived in room No. 9 had a laundry business and washed cloths in the facilities of the *vecindad*. The family who lived in room No. 10 sold *sopes*, a kind of Mexican snacks that were prepared in their dwelling and later sold in the street behind the entrance to the *vecindad*.

⁹⁸ *Posadas* are Mexican festivities organised during the two weeks before Christmas. *Sonideros* are dancing parties organised in the *vecindades* in Tepito.

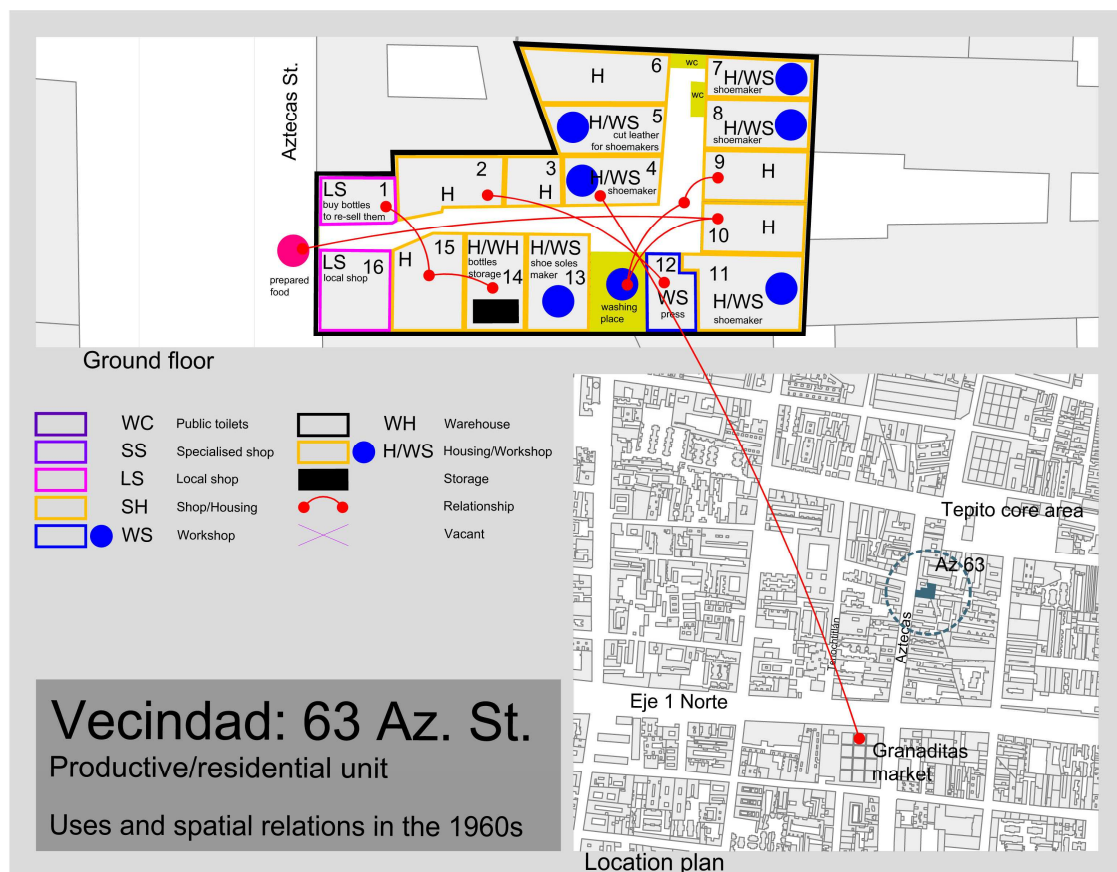


Figure 48 Uses of the *vecindad* in the 1960s

The rooms in the *vecindad* were described by writer Armando Ramírez as a microcosmos, a place used for everything: a place to live, work, eat, be with the family; a place for everything.

‘At sunrise, the dwelling where Alejo lives smells of deprived dreams and accumulated odours. The snores and shoves give a pace to the peacefulness of this ‘total-room’. Room-bedroom, Room-with-mezzanine, room-living room, room-living-together, room-dining room, room-Christianity, room-all-in-a-small-place.’ (from the novel ‘Quinceañera’, Armando Ramírez 1985:p.21; translation by L0).

The case of the person living in room No. 15 illustrates how the *vecindad* represented a family and productive unit. This story was told by Mario, a key informant. Mario’s grandfather decided to come to Mexico City searching for economic opportunities. He came from the city of León, in the state of Guanajuato, which is well known for the production of shoes. He settled in Tepito following the example of people from his hometown that had formed a migrants’ community in the neighbourhood. He settled in *vecindad* No. 63 on Aztecas and started a shoe soles business. The workshop expanded

quickly so he called his son, Mario's father, to help him; he came with his family and settled in the same *vecindad*. This shows that many of the *vecindades* were formed by family members and people from the same hometown, which facilitated the consolidation of a community.

Mario and his family lived in room No. 13, where his father produced the shoe soles. His grandfather, who lived in room No. 15, started a new business buying, cleaning and re-selling glass bottles to a factory in the nearby area. One of the shops in the *vecindad* (shop No. 1) was used to buy the bottles and room No. 14 was used to store them. These complementary uses are shown in Figure 48 with red lines. This example illustrates to what extent the local economy was interwoven with space and family relations. Mario Manrique (1985) mentioned the relevance of the relations formed within the *vecindad*, its patio, the streets and the community in order to explain how Tepito acts as an alternative social and economic 'system' which relies on the polychronic use of space.

The central patio was used for many functions, among them: drying cloths, playing, talking, doing household chores, and also carrying out some workshop tasks. Festivities also took place in the patio of *vecindades*. The patio was the quintessential place for conviviality. Children played together in this place, women washed cloths together, men worked there. Festivities also brought people together and revealed the astonishing capacity of the community to organise collectively.

The productive role of the *vecindad*

The *vecindad* played a central role in the economy of the neighbourhood. The main activity in the *vecindad* was the production and repair of shoes. Each workshop was specialised in one activity: sole making, leather cutting and sewing or finishing shoemaking processes.

In *vecindad* No. 63, there were 6 shoe workshops, indicated in the figure with a blue dot, which performed three different kinds of work. Mario's family, made soles, three workshops assembled the shoes, one cut the leather and another finished the product. The family who lived in room No. 4 had a stall in the Granaditas market, where they sold the shoes produced in the *vecindad*. The neighbours did not compete with each other they rather specialised and did complementary work. In fact, the *vecindad* worked as a family 'factory'.

As Mario Manrique pointed out, many creative solutions for businesses emerged in the neighbourhood as survival strategies. The capacity to improvise, adapt and create is the real strength of the community. These attributes were developed as a result of the people's search for opportunities to make a living.

'During many years, the need to survive, drove people to create social spaces, spaces for 'living together' on the periphery of the brutal culture of inequity, of social, racial and cultural fragmentation: the culture of the urban poor [in original: *cultura de los jodidos*]. But, the real source and strength of the popular culture resides in the skills of the craftsmen and their capacity to adapt modes of semi-industrial production.' (Mario Manrique 1985:p.290; translation by LO).

The resilience of the Tepito community relied in the capacity of the people to use their skills, space and social relations to develop economic activities. The *vecindad* worked as a polychronic space that included social and productive functions. These functions were extended to the streets, as a second layer of the collective organisation. The commercial activities in the streets complemented a robust and diversified local economy, and co-existed with a variety of social uses of space.

The *vecindad* - streets relation

The *vecindades* were connected from one street to another as if the neighbourhood was a labyrinth. This spatial structure linked the patios with the streets forming a continuous space. The division between the streets, as public domain, and the private space was unclear; the streets were an extension of the patios of the *vecindades*. These connections were used by inhabitants to move faster through the neighbourhood, and sometimes to escape from the police. The Tepito neighbourhood was already known for its high rate of crime. When the *vecindades* were reconstructed after the earthquake, these connections were closed in order to have more control over the territory. Streets and *vecindades* were highly interconnected; they were layers of a collective lifestyle.

'The Tepito culture is the culture of the streets, the culture of the *vecindades*, which includes the culture of the entrance, the culture of the patios and the culture of the inside of the dwellings. It should be understood that it is an integral culture, or a culture of integration. The housing problem, as well as that of employment and commerce, should be understood as a whole, as well as the respect for the squares, parks and other spaces where social activities are performed, and all those activities that cover the needs of the community' (Mario Manrique 1985:p.299; translation by LO).

In the 1960s street trading already played an important role in the neighbourhood. The street's commercial activities co-existed and complemented the productive ones, strengthening the local economy. Many of the street stalls in the Bartolomé *Plaza* distributed the shoes produced in the *vecindades*. There were other markets in the area, for example, on Caridad Street there was a market of domestic utensils, and on Toltecas Street there was a second-hand street market.

The streets, as well as the *vecindades*, were used for both: economic and social purposes. Families produced or prepared food and used the streets to distribute their goods. These spaces were also used to organise festivities, to play, to dance. The streets were extensions of the productive and social life of the *vecindades*.

3.2.2 The reconstruction and current form of Aztecas No. 63

The *vecindad* was reconstructed in 1986 through the Housing Renovation Programme (*Programa de Renovación Popular*) implemented by the city government after the 1985 earthquake. This programme helped residents to reconstruct the old housing structures in the City Centre and its surroundings. The properties were expropriated by the city government, the *vecindades* were demolished and houses were reconstructed.

The residents participated actively in the reconstruction process. They formed a council with the power to make decisions on behalf of the residents and to manage the administrative procedures. The experience strengthened the organisation capacities of the inhabitants.

In the case of Aztecas No. 63, 15 apartments were constructed in two buildings, each one with three storeys, as shown in Figure 49. The reconstructed *vecindades* were named 'renovation units'. The two shops were also reconstructed. The apartments are 50 m² and include all the necessary spaces and services: living room, dining room, bedrooms,

bathroom and kitchen. The concept of sharing common facilities disappeared with this housing typology. There is a central patio but it has lost the role it used to play to reinforce productive and social activities.



Figure 49 Renovation unit on Aztecas No. 63

After the reconstruction of the *vecindad*, a major change was the acquisition of property. The property now belonged to the residents, but each apartment was assigned to an individual owner, therefore, residents became owners of their dwellings.

The expansion of the street market

In the 1980s the *fayuca* street market was expanding quickly. The distribution of smuggled goods was a profitable activity, and many local people abandoned their workshops and became street traders. Productive activities decreased considerably in favour of the most lucrative one: street vending. Jane Jacobs (1961) described a similar economic process in the case of neighbourhoods that were becoming popular. They attract people from the outside because of their diversity, but as restaurants and bars became the more profitable uses, streets tended to specialise and increase their prices, killing the diversity that made them attractive.

A tipping point occurred when residents acquired the property rights to the dwellings. They considered the streets were interconnected with the dwellings forming a 'system'. The community used this argument to defend the neighbourhood against the reconstruction threats during the 1970s. However, the expansion of the *fayuca* street market and the specialisation of the neighbourhood were already modifying the relations between the *vecindades* and the streets.

Community members considered the streets and open spaces as a 'property' that belonged to them, as they were connected to the housing and formed a system. Because the inhabitants received the property rights to their dwellings, as a matter of logic, they also claimed the 'property' rights to the streets. The City Government was in a difficult political position in the aftermath of the earthquake, and feared mobilisations from the Tepito community. City authorities granted concessions on the expansion of the market in the Tepito area (corresponding to the North Sector). Leaders distributed the pitches to the local community of vendors. Many residents appropriated places in the streets, as leaders needed to justify that they were using the streets in the benefit of locals. By doing this, the residents became owners of their dwelling and, at the same time, acquired rights to the streets through informal arrangements with leaders and authorities.

The land value increased, especially after the expansion of the *fayuca* market, which represented a good business opportunity. The appropriation for the rental of the streets became a good business on itself, especially if it was associated with the rental of the dwellings as storage places. In this way, many locals started renting street stalls and storage places as a single 'package'. The streets-*vecindades* 'system' still worked together, but, this time, not to support the survival economy of locals, but as a business opportunity. This is shown in the analysis of the current uses of the *vecindad*.

The current uses of the renovation unit

The renovation unit has 15 apartments in two buildings and 2 street front shops. Figure 50 shows the distribution of the dwellings on the different floors. The residential use predominates in the renovation unit since 10 out of 15 dwellings are used as residences. The second use is as storage places, with 4 out of 15 dwellings used for this purpose; and finally, only one unit is used as a workshop, which makes illegal copies of CDs to distribute them in street stalls.

The tenants of the shops also became owners after the reconstruction of the *vecindad*. Nowadays, the two shops are rented out by the original owners to entrepreneurs selling clothes and jewellery, the specialised business line of Aztecas Street. The shops that used to serve local needs were transformed into specialised boutiques, and the owners are making money from renting out the space. The specialisation of shops contributed to the depletion of the diversity of the local economy.

In the following paragraphs, I present specific cases to illustrate how the *vecindades* and the streets became a business on itself, and how they were used by local residents. The relations on space are shown in red in Figure 50.

An elderly couple that used to live in the *vecindad* were relocated to apartment No. 1. They bought dwelling No. 6 from the previous residents who moved out of the neighbourhood and now they rent it out as storage place. They also have a street stall assigned to their name, outside the renovation unit, which is rented out to the same person that rents the storage place. This family makes a living from renting out both the street space and the dwelling. This shows that space has become a business for local residents, the source of revenue.

The opinion of residents is that although they recognise this practice is negative, they also understand many people are old and don't receive help from the government and the fact that, because they have worked in the informal sector, they don't have any other source of income. This legitimates, in some cases more than others, the instrumentalisation of space.

The family who lives in apartment No. 2 also lived on the premises when they still were a *vecindad*. They have bought three apartments from neighbours who preferred to sell and move out. They are owners of apartments No. 7, No. 8 and No. 11. Apartment No. 7 is used by a family member who helps the family at the street stalls. Apartment No. 8 is rented out to a street vendor that distributes pirated CDs. Apartment No. 11 is rented out to family members. This family has street stalls at Bartolomé Plaza, Tepito centre, and public toilets at the same place. The reason why they have stayed in the neighbourhood is because they have their family businesses in this place, including the rental of the dwellings they have acquired over time.

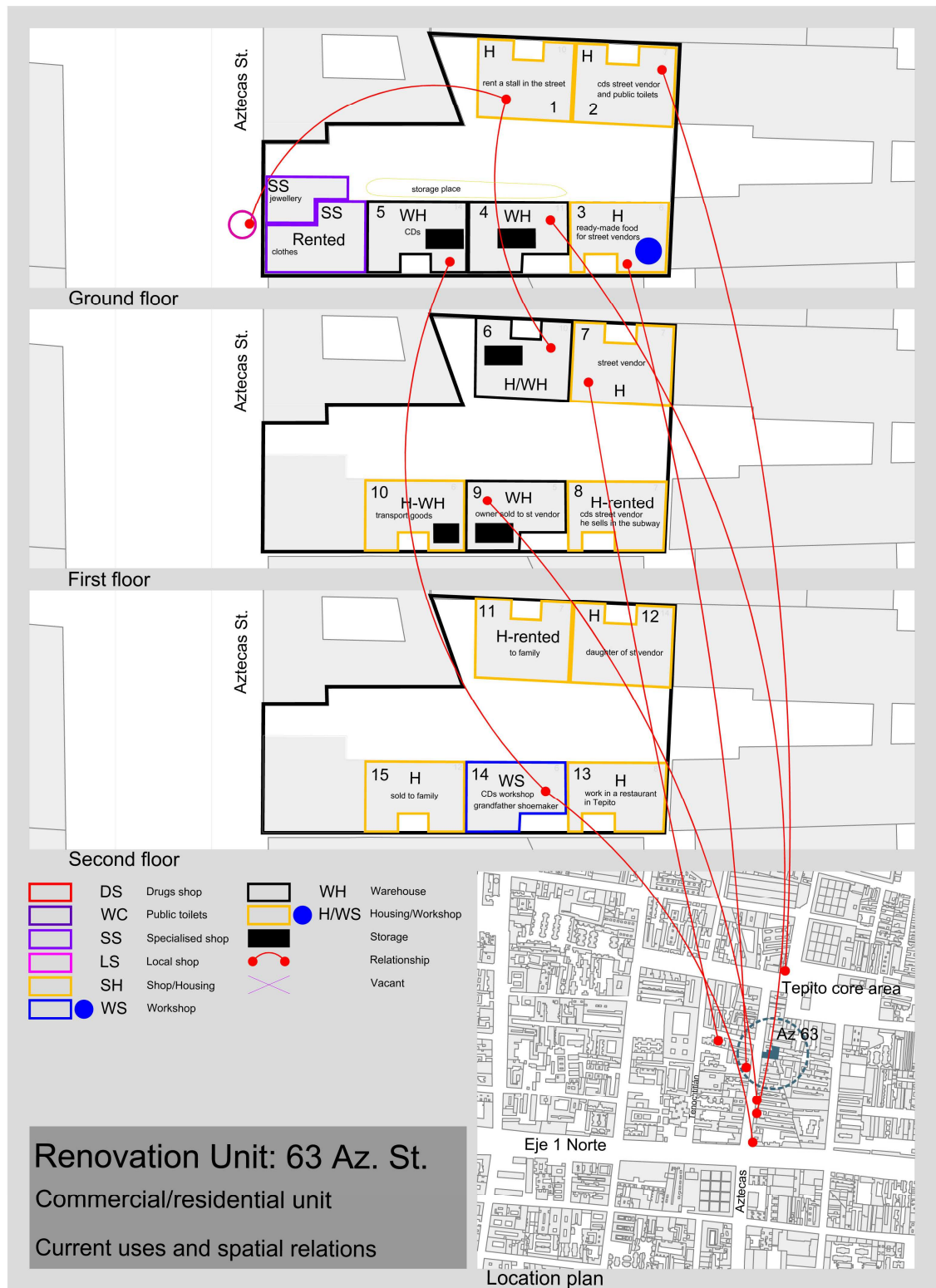


Figure 50 Current uses of the renovation unit

The two cases show that for local families the neighbourhood acts simultaneously as both a place to live within a community and a business on itself. This reflects the ‘double-organisation’ of the place used as an ‘object’ and a community milieu.

Dwelling No. 3 is used as a residence and as a family business; the family who live there prepare food to cater to street traders. The street market promotes the creation of complementary economic activities that depend directly on the commercial activities in the street; without them these services would not exist. A local economy based on the market flourished in the neighbourhood. This aspect reveals the ambiguity of the street market. On one hand, it utilises space extensively to run individual businesses; on the other hand, it reinforces the local economy that allows residents to stay in the neighbourhood. The position of the residents is that the street market is at the same time negative and positive for the neighbourhood.

Another example of the utilisation of the neighbourhood as a business is the case of the owner of dwelling No. 5. His grandfather was a shoemaker in the *vecindad*, but he became a street vendor. The family decided to move out, but he kept the dwelling as a storage place; he also rents apartment No. 14 to use the place to make illegal copies of CDs that he then distributes at his street stall. His stall is located on Eje 1 Avenue, one of the major commercial corridors in the area. This vendor lives in another neighbourhood, but his business is in Tepito. To run his stall, he uses both kinds of spaces: the streets and the dwellings. This clearly shows that the streets and the houses are connected and work together as a system, but, in this case, they work as an economic system rather than as a social one. This new 'function' of space constitutes a radical change and modifies the relationship between the local community and the neighbourhood.

In this case, the level of instrumentalisation of the neighbourhood is more evident as this person no longer lives in the neighbourhood; he is not a resident, his relation to space is only as a means to run his business. This shows that there is a multiplicity of situations in which people make an instrumental use of space in more or less legitimate ways. The strategic location of the stall and the relation that this person established with space also shows that local people were more capable of consolidating business opportunities before moving out of the neighbourhood than outsiders.

The person who lives in apartment No. 6 uses his dwelling as a storage place, as a complementary economic activity. His family own the dwelling and lend it to him. He lives in Tepito because he can work in the market transporting goods for the vendors. Tepito has lost residents, but it has attracted people who work in the street market. Seven of the fifteen apartments are used by people who actually live there and work directly in the market. Tepito has substituted part of its original population, especially families who have moved upwards to the middle classes. Others tend to stay, like families

who have acquired more properties or have extended their businesses. Paradoxically, many of the families who could leave the neighbourhood were able to do so because they were making a good profit from their local businesses.

Moving out of the neighbourhood is meaningful to local people because it means 'escaping poverty'; a sign of success, of capacity. However, middle class families criticise the people that are able to move out after using the neighbourhood as a means to grow their wealth. In their opinion, this is not a commendable expression of individual capacity as their wealth is derived from the 'exploitation' of the neighbourhood.

The relations between the dwellings and the neighbourhood show that streets have become the centre of the local economy, see Figure 50. They work as an 'attractor', that is, as an element that tends to predominate in the re-organisation of a system; this concept was defined in the theory chapter. In the 1960s, the *vecindades* dominated the neighbourhood's organisation and the streets were extensions of their social and economic life. The expansion of the street market brought a new organisation to the neighbourhood. In the new configuration, streets and their exchange-value dominate the general organisation. Indeed, dwellings support the streets' economy. The renovation unit still has a residential use, but it is always linked to the neighbourhood. Locals decided to stay because they extended their businesses in the neighbourhood. A new social category appeared: people that come and live in the neighbourhood because they work in the market. In Tepito, everything is somehow related to the market.

The transformation of the neighbourhood also regards 'time'; the pace that sets the rhythm for the social life of the neighbourhood. The regular festivities organised in the *vecindades* and the streets, the dancing sessions, the children playing in the streets in the afternoons and the people sitting at the entrance of the *vecindad* to have a chat with neighbours were important practices that gave the neighbourhood its social form as a 'community'. The evolution of the street market brought a new organisation of time. Streets cannot be used for other activities besides vending, as there is no available space.

Street vendors spend the whole day at the street stalls; an environment characterised by noise and intense activity. And later, in the evenings, many vendors pack or wrap their goods so as to have them ready to sell the following day, or they collect commodities from suppliers, etc. They do not have time or interest to organise festivities or to chat at the entrance of the renovation unit. In addition, street vendors compete against each other to get the clients to their stalls; therefore, relations between vendors are not easy. Several times, vendors mentioned to me that their market neighbours had put salt or

other 'magical items/substances' in the vicinity of their competitor's stalls so that such competitors have bad sales and they can have more clients. If someone is doing well, then others are jealous and want the vendor to fail. Street vendors can organise collectively for more general interest issues, like threats of eviction, but, on a daily basis, the market creates resentment between people. This kind of relations can explain why vendors don't participate in community activities anymore, like the artisans did before. The patios are now empty or they are used to park cars or to store racks and other elements of the market. Public spaces are almost non-existent. The social life of the community has almost disappeared, and with it, the sense of the community.

The analysis of the transformation of the *vecindad* on Aztecas No. 63 into a renovation unit was used to give insights about the radical transformation of the neighbourhood after the expansion of the street market. In the 1960s, social and economic relations were formed in the neighbourhood that established a particular lifestyle characterised by equal and complementary relations between residents. Most of the residents were tenants of collective houses and many of them worked in the collective houses as craftsmen. The economic and social life of the *vecindades* extended into the streets. Three factors contributed to the transformation of the neighbourhood: The first was the expansion of the *fayuca* market, a success in economic terms. The second was the increase of the real estate value of the neighbourhood, especially the streets. And the third was the process of entitlement to the property of their dwellings of locals who acquired them, but also the concession on the use of the streets to run individual businesses. These factors promoted the commodification of the neighbourhood by making it a 'business asset' through the renting of both the houses as storage places and the street stalls. Thus, the expansion of the market produced a re-organisation of the territory, in spatial and social terms.

6.3 Transformation of the *vecindad* No. 4 on CT Street

The analysis of this *vecindad* is similar to the previous one. I compare the *vecindad* in the 1960s with its current uses and relations to space (2012). In this case, however, the *vecindad* was not reconstructed; it has kept its original structure. This analysis confirms certain tendencies in the neighbourhood, namely, locals making a profit from renting out property or running businesses in the area and moving out, and others staying because they have businesses in the neighbourhood. In addition, this case focuses on the

transformation of the business lines of a strip of shops and on the expansion of the distribution of drugs in the *vecindad*.

3.3.1 The *vecindad* in the 1960s

The *vecindad* was constructed in the 1940s; it is located on a secondary street called Callejón Tenochtitlán Street. This street is near the Tepito core area, but at the same time it remains relatively concealed. A flea market where second-hand items were sold was accepted in the street in 1963, when the street conditions were convenient for this activity. In fact, after the construction of the closed markets in 1957, the vendors called *ayateros* started selling again on the streets. These vendors were not able to afford the price of a market stall, and most of the time they worked by collecting used items in middle-class neighbourhoods to sell. Closed markets were not fit for their commercial and economic logic. They needed the streets to continue their activity, hence the authorities gave them permission to use CT Street.

It was in this street market that the *fayuca* appeared in 1972. One of the inhabitants of *vecindad* No. 4 started selling the goods that her husband sent her illegally from the U.S.A., and immediately became a great success. The street was convenient to develop the *fayuca* market as it was located near the Bartolomé Plaza, a commercial area, but at the same time and to a certain extent, it remained hidden. The Callejón Tenochtitlán Street was the epicentre of the street market. As mentioned before, it transformed the neighbourhood by increasing the real estate value of the place. This *vecindad* was not reconstructed after the 1985 earthquake, as it already was the property of the residents: the *vecindad* maintained its original structure.

The uses of the *vecindad* in the 1960s

The *vecindad* has 33 rooms in two floors, organised around a central patio, and 2 street-front shops. Six other shops in a strip located at the corner of Tenochtitlán Street and CT Street were analysed. Shared facilities only include bathrooms, located at the end of the plot. Figure 51 shows the *vecindad* from the central patio.

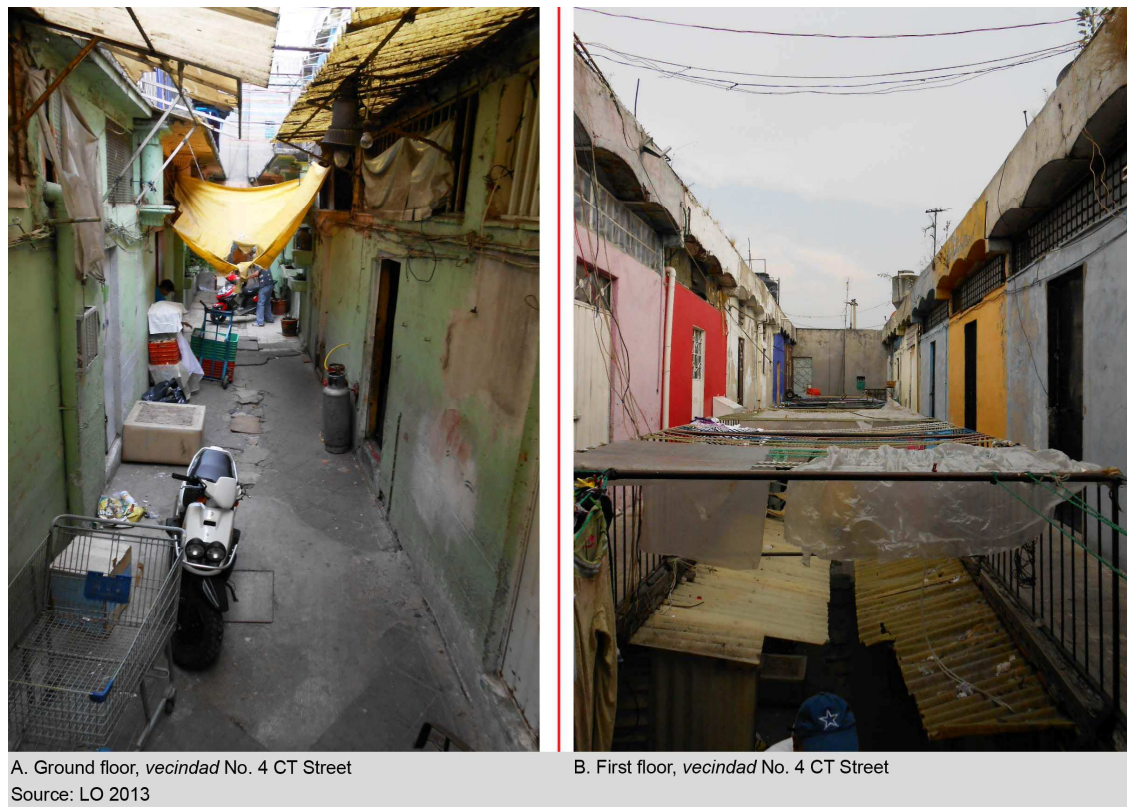


Figure 51 *Vecindad* No. 4 on CT Street

The *vecindad* was used mainly for residential purposes; only one dwelling was used as a warehouse. The entrepreneurial activities were performed in the houses. The family in room No. 2 had a small shop; the family in room No. 8 and 9 prepared food in their house to sell it in the closed market in the Tepito centre, this family still have this business. The family in rooms No. 18, 19 and 20, and the family in room No. 27, were *ayateros*, street vendors selling second hand items on CT Street. The family who lived in dwelling No. 33 worked in a *pulquería* (a traditional Mexican establishment somewhat akin to a bar where fermented maguey [*agave*] sap is served) in the centre of Tepito and the resident of room No. 14 is an engineer who still lives there. 8 houses were used simultaneously as shoemaking workshops. The *vecindad* was concurrently a residential and a productive unit, as was the case of Aztecas No. 63, and it had a variety of entrepreneurial uses, most of which were related to the economy of the neighbourhood.

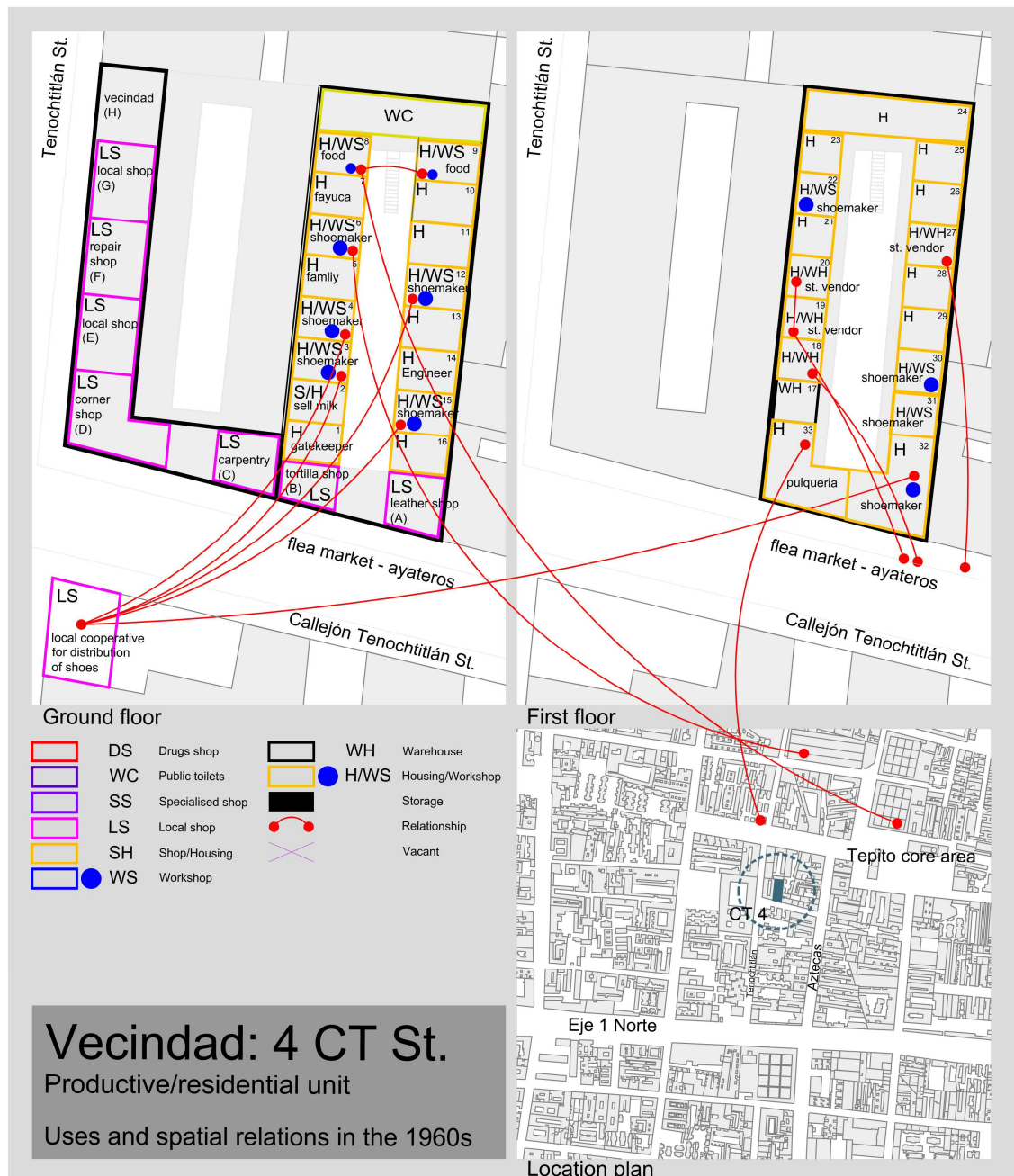


Figure 52 Uses and spatial relations in the 1960s

Eight shops make up the corner of CT Street and Tenochtitlán Street. Shop 'A' used to sell leather as the raw material for the shoemaking workshops, which reinforced the local productive economy. Shop 'B' was a *tortillería* (a tortilla shop) that used to sell traditional corn tortillas. Tortillas are part of many Mexican's daily diet and are particularly important in the low-income neighbourhoods⁹⁹. Shop 'C' was a carpenter workshop¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ The Tepito community was poor and, in response, they have created inexpensive dishes, such as the 'migas soup', a dish prepared with basic ingredients; it is a spicy soup made with left-over bread and eggs and cooked with

Shop 'D' was a corner shop that sold basic goods like eggs, soap, milk, etc. to local residents. Shop 'E' specialised in cooking utensils such as steel sheets called *comales* (used to cook traditional food), burners and similar objects. Shop 'F' repaired washing machines and commercialised second hand ones. Shop 'G' used to sell material for electric repairs. Finally, shop 'H' did not exist as a shop; it was part of the *vecindad*. The shops in this strip illustrate the diversity of business lines in the neighbourhood, which mainly served the local economy and reflected the culture of the place.

The productive and residential uses of the *vecindad* and the variety of local shops show that the neighbourhood was structured in the different layers of space, integrated in a coherent 'system' forming a working-class neighbourhood.

3.3.2 Transformation of the *vecindad* and current uses

The *vecindad* was not reconstructed after the earthquake because it already belonged to the inhabitants; they decided not to move out to have it rebuilt. The *fayuca* market was already successful and inhabitants were able to buy the property because their businesses were already expanding. Figure 53 shows the plan of the *vecindad*.

The residential uses have decreased; only 13 out of 33 dwellings are inhabited. Local families bought dwellings from people moving out and extend their living places and their businesses in the *vecindad*. For example, the family who own corner shop B, lives in the dwelling formed by rooms 29 and 30. The family that prepared food and sold it in the market has bought dwelling 27 and has kept the rooms where the food was prepared. The *vecindad* has less number of residents, but many have stayed. Some of them have extended their dwellings, especially on the second floor, to live in a more comfortable situation. The *vecindad* is still a 'community' organisation, to a certain extent, more so than the renovation unit case.

beef bones. Low income families in the area ate *migas* and tortillas as the basis of their diet. Tortillas were essential on a daily basis.

¹⁰⁰ In the Tepito neighbourhood, the most frequent uses were: shoemaking workshops, tortilla shops and carpenter's workshops (Arréchiga Cordoba 2003).

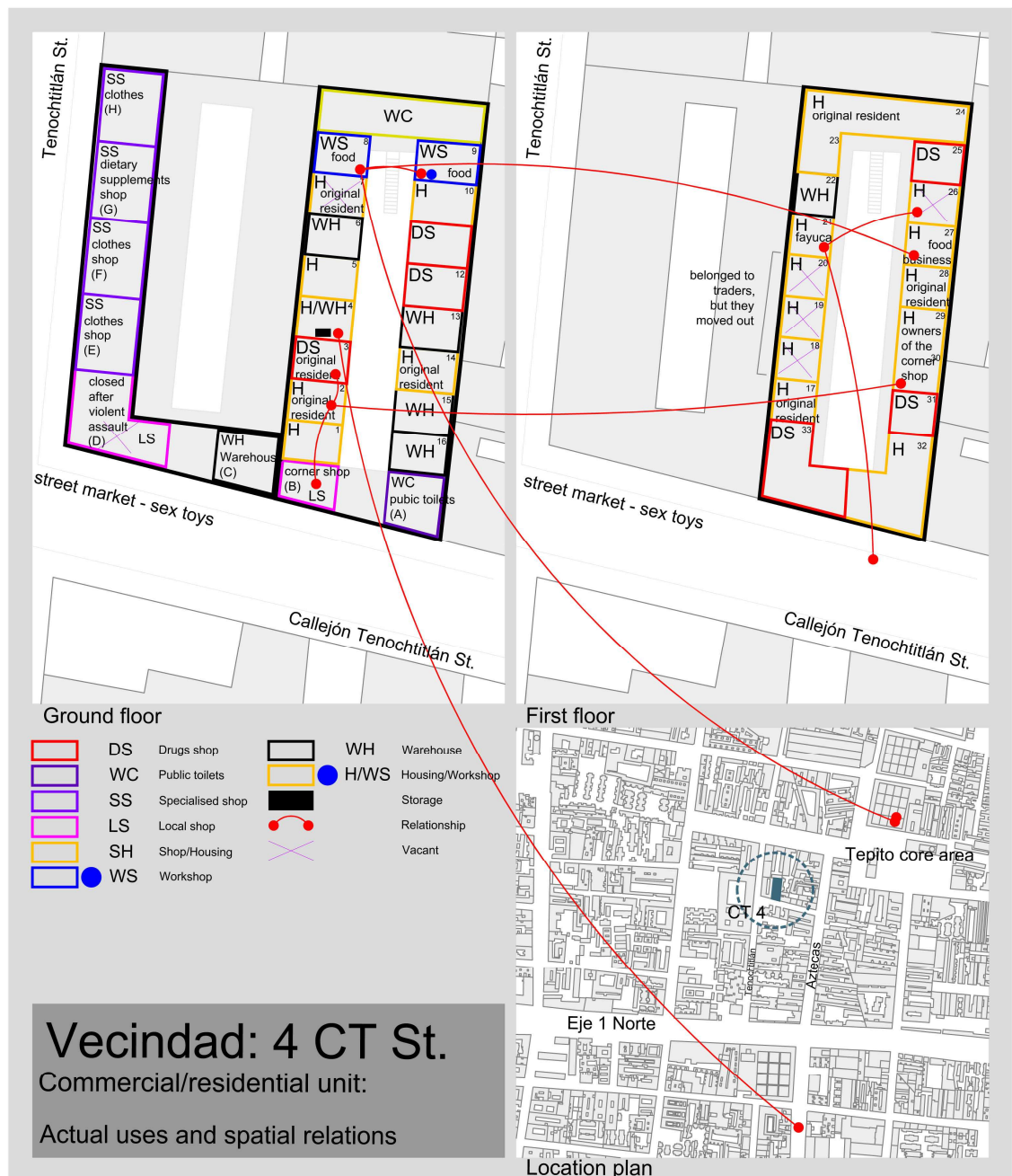


Figure 53 Current uses and spatial relations

The productive activities, especially the shoes workshops, have disappeared.

5 dwellings are used as storage places, which are more than the number of storage places in the renovation unit. This is because this *vecindad* offers lower levels of quality of life: the structure of the building is old and rooms don't have electric light and other services. For this reason, many of the rooms, especially on the ground floor, are used as storage places.

Many of the families who moved out after becoming rich from selling *fayuca* kept their dwellings in the *vecindad*, but they do not use them. There are five vacant dwellings. These dwellings have real commercial value only if used as storage places, as dwelling's extensions for local residents, or as drug distribution points; except from these uses, the value is very low. This is the reason that might explain why they remain vacant.

One of the dominant uses of the *vecindad* is the drug distribution points. 5 dwellings are used for that purpose: distribution and consumption of hard drugs. Only one of the people running drug businesses in the *vecindad* was a local resident; the rest are immigrants who have taken advantage of the conditions of the place to run their business. As mentioned before, this CT Street is connected to the commercial area, which attracts clients, but, at the same time, it is concealed so it is a suitable place to carry out illegal activities. The *fayuca* market was also illegal, and promoted a territorialisation of the street to distribute smuggled items; a mafia organisation. The spatial form was another condition that promoted these activities; people could easily hide in the *vecindades* and have protection from locals. The patios were also used as 'second layers' of privacy, where drugs where could be distributed and consumed without being persecuted by authorities. My argument is that the street market created favourable conditions that attracted another level of illegal activities such as the commercialisation of drugs and firearms.

The street market on CT Street has disappeared almost completely. This street is dangerous and the market clients do not visit the area. On the west corner there are some street stalls that sell sex toys and related items; there are usually people in the street, mostly men in their 40s playing a game that is popular in prison. The atmosphere does not make people feel secure.

The shops radically changed their commercial uses. Shop 'A' was converted into public toilets, serving mainly market clients. Shop 'B' has now been converted into a corner shop that sells water, soft drinks, cookies, etc. This shop serves clients of the market and local residents. Shop 'C' is used as a storage place. Shop 'D' was first converted into a boutique that sold pirated watches; that is, watches that use brand names illegally. But, some years ago, the shop was violently robbed and a person was killed. Since this incident, the shop has been abandoned and remains closed. Shop 'E' and 'F' sell low-price imported jewellery. Tenochtitlán Street specialises in perfumes and jewellery. The shop's business line shift responds to the demand created by the street market. Shop 'G' sells dietary supplements that help the body to have more energy, especially for people who

exercise. Shop 'H' was created in the 1990s; it sells jewellery, perfumes and clothes, in line with the specialisation of the street. The commercial uses of the shops tend towards specialisation on Tenochtitlán Street. The shops on CT Street were converted into market facilities: toilets, storage rooms and a corner shop. The commercial uses that served residents' basic needs disappeared, such as the tortilla shop¹⁰¹. The current business line of shops responds to the external demand, i.e. outside clients, rather than to the local economy or residents' needs.

Figure 54-B shows a shop that used to centralise the production of shoes from the *vecindades* nearby. This space is located across the street from *vecindad* No. 4. The decay of the buildings is a reflection of the economic and social decay of CT Street.



Figure 54 Physical and social decay on CT Street

The economic dynamics of the street market destroyed the diversity of shops, the productive activities in the *vecindades* and attracted illegal activities such as the distribution of drugs. These ramifications of the street market directly affected the living conditions of the place. Many people who were making serious money from the neighbourhood preferred to move out to some upper class neighbourhoods; also people who were making decent money moved out to middle-class neighbourhoods. As a result of this, the neighbourhood lost the diversity of social groups. The local community was reduced to the group of people that stayed because they have family businesses in the area. As a consequence of the expansion of the market, the local community and its

¹⁰¹ A local inhabitant explained to me that her wife has to take public transport to go to another neighbourhood or walk to the market to get daily products, the Tepito corner shops have disappeared and those left have increased the prices of basic goods. This affects the habitability of the neighbourhood.

spaces were dismantled. The community's vulnerability increased and it was unable to overcome the drug distribution problem.

The subordination of the community

I asked Carlos and Mario, both key informants, when their families had decided to move out of the neighbourhood. Both replied that their families moved out in the 1990s when the drug problem was out of control.

Carlos told me the story of his uncle, Porfirio, who used to live with him in *vecindad* No. 4 on CT Street. By coincidence, this story was also known by Mario, who was close friends with Porfirio, so it was relatively easy to obtain the details of what had happened from two informants. I use this story to exemplify the local residents' struggle to deal with the distribution of drugs, a problem that became a major issue, and how they lost the battle over control of their own territory.

Porfirio lived in dwelling No. 10, almost in the back of the patio, behind the stairs. A group of young dealers came to the *vecindad* and used the area near the stairs to distribute drugs; they were not locals. The main doors of the *vecindades* remain open during the day so anyone can enter the patio. This place was perfect for the distribution of drugs as it was, at the same time, concealed, accessible and near the market, which attracts clients.

Porfirio was older than the young dealers, and stronger; two or three times he threatened to beat them if they kept going to the *vecindad*, but they kept going. One day Porfirio beat one of the dealers violently; this was his last resource to put a limit to this kind of practises in the *vecindad*, a way to defend it. The neighbours agreed with Porfirio's behaviour and thought the dealers would never return again. Unfortunately, some days after the incident, the dealer that had been beaten showed up to a local party. In front of everybody he approached Porfirio and stab him with a knife delivering a deadly wound. The assailant was under the influence of drugs. This was a clear message to the community: anyone who tries to stop them will suffer the same consequences as Porfirio.

After Porfirio's death, Carlos's family decided to move out because they considered that fighting the drug dealers was a lost battle. They were attached to their neighbourhood, but limits had been crossed. Carlos was still studying the last year of his major in Architecture and his family did not want him to be in this kind of environment. A similar

situation occurred with Mario's family, he didn't want his teenage sons to be influenced to get into drugs. Both were well prepared, middle-class families who moved out due to the drug problem in the neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood is regulated by local codes and mechanisms of enforcement. The fact that Porfirio beat the dealer was a way to establish a limit to what was accepted or not in the *vecindad*. The community didn't want young people to be influenced and get involved in drugs, and legitimated violence as an enforcement mechanism when required. However, drugs brought another level of violence and enforced a set of new codes regarding what was accepted in the neighbourhood and the establishment of new territories controlled by strong leaders.

The tensions between different groups co-exist under the principle of 'respect'. Respect in this context means that everyone focuses on their own business and leaves others to do their own without interference. The use of the word 'respect' contradicts the fact that the 'business' of some people clearly interferes with the 'normal' life of inhabitants. For example, when I visited CT Street with Carlos, while in a public area, he was reminded by a local dealer, his own cousin that he could not bring outsiders to the place, otherwise he or his family could get into trouble. Residents live in an oppressive situation 'respecting' the new codes imposed by local powerful figures: leaders of the street vendors and dealers. The point that I make is that the subordination of the use-values of space is also related to the subordination of the community as natural 'gatekeeper' of the neighbourhood as a social milieu. Thus, at some point, the disintegration of the community is necessary so that space can be territorialised to exploit its potential to run businesses.

As Mario Puga, a member of Tepito Arte Acá, explained drugs had been dealt before in the neighbourhood, but not to that extent. The expansion of the street market increased the efficiency of the market as a commercial system, but it also increased the vulnerability of the neighbourhood as a social organisation. Once the community was dismantled and thus made vulnerable, it was easy for the cartels to take over space in order to carry out their businesses.

The relation of the authorities to the Tepito neighbourhood is limited. In 2011, there was a problem between two drug dealers in *vecindad* No.4 on CT Street. Violent confrontations and shootings took place in the central patio. Neighbours demanded police intervention, and in response to this explicit demand, the police closed all the drug distribution centres, and the entrance to the *vecindad* was guarded 24 hours a day.

However, during another confrontation with authorities, someone filmed a police officer torturing a member of a local gang, and this video was used by the cartels to threaten the police; thereupon, the police removed the guards from *vecindad* No. 4. This shows that the power of local gangs challenge that of the police; local groups have real control over their territories.

6.4 Chapter conclusions

This chapter shows that the street market occupies spaces that are important for the social life of the community, such as historic centres, squares, parks and streets. These elements lost their role in the organisation of the territory and, instead, the commercial value of the streets emerged as a dominating pattern. The increasing commercial value of space brought a new reconfiguration to the area. New relations were established between the streets and the houses, the houses and the local shops, the houses and the local economy. A major factor in this transformation was the inhabitants' acquisition of the property rights to their dwellings and the appropriation of the streets. This reconfiguration of space also affected the community's relation to space; many of the people tended to utilise the neighbourhood as a business on itself. All these economic dynamics related to the increasing commercial value of space reduced the social functions of the territory and contributed to dismantling the local community and increasing its vulnerability. The evidence that the community has reduced its capacities to maintain its cohesion and control of its space is revealed through the incapacity to stop the drug distribution problem, which aggravated the situation.

Production of space, from this perspective, is proposed as a problem of city sustainability. Not only does this process affect the use-values of space, but it also depletes the community organisation and reduces its capacities to be united and to 'work together' in order to deal with stressful situations and difficulties, and to be able to persist over time.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

Conceptualising street vending and the production of space

The thesis aim is to argue that street vending produces (commercial) space, generating a complex, decentralised and multi-scalar organisation. By looking at the Tepito case, I am arguing that the organisation of the market has a direct impact in the neighbourhood as a community, non-commercial, organisation. Important spaces for social interaction were occupied by the market and transformed into commercial hubs like the central plaza in front the San Francisco Church, but most important the social relations, the diversity of uses and social categories were depleted. The *vecindades*, central hub for community life in the past, tend to become mere support of the market activities.

The Tepito community and its spatial practices such as local festivities, *posadas*, dancing, *sonideros* and the productive activities linking spatially the *vecindades* with the streets were destroyed by the dynamics of the market. Furthermore, the distribution of illegal items, such as drugs and guns, increased and the place became more insecure. To live in the neighbourhood became difficult, even to get out of the area as the streets were full of people, shops increased their prices and many local shops shifted to specialised boutiques. The problem with the market and drugs forced many of the community members to leave the place. Many started renting their properties (houses and street vending places) to newcomer vendors and entrepreneurs, making of space an exchange-value. The vulnerability of the neighbourhood becomes evident when the local community had lost the possibility of re-establish the usual codes of the streets as a community asset (space as a use-value). For example, when the informant cannot talk to me in the street because this is not allowed by local leaders for protection of their profitable businesses; control of space is central to exploit its commercial potential. This represents a recodification of space, a central aspect of spatial transformation.

The production of space as an efficient commercial organisation changing the value of space is increasing the vulnerability of the neighbourhood by depleting spaces and social relations required to maintain and reproduce the community social cohesion, space as a

use-value. From this case, I propose a reformulation of the concept of 'production of space' (conflict between values) as a problem of neighbourhood sustainability (increase efficiency leads to increase vulnerability).

Five specific arguments, drawn from the hypotheses and the case findings, explain the process of transformation of Tepito into an exchange-value.

(1) A capitalistic form of space: space as a product.

I apply Lefebvre's idea of production of space, a capitalist approach to urban transformation, to the process of commodification of space by a street vending powerful system.

Many people are involved in the street vending system; many of them are making a considerable amount of money, others are just earning a reasonable profit, while many others are just surviving. Beyond the individual cases, the point remains that collective action is utilising the neighbourhood dominantly to run businesses by impeding other uses to take place. Furthermore, this is not only a problem of conflicting uses, it is a problem of conflicting values. Space is no more a collection of use-values, but street vending tend to convert it into an exchange-value. The capitalistic form of space becomes clear when the use-values of space have been subordinated by its exchange-value, as occurred in the Tepito neighbourhood. It is worth noting that human survival is part of the system; a condition frequently utilised to legitimate the appropriation of the streets.

The capitalistic system involves people and their practices, but space also plays a role in the process. As streets generate potential and acquire value, an opportunity opens for street vendors to find ways to benefit, which motivates them to mobilise collectively. The effect of street vending upon the commercial value of space should be an aspect that a street vending policy might take into account.

The forces that drive this transformation are proposed in the following paragraphs.

(2) Production of space as an exercise of power.

The exercise of power, as formulated in Hypothesis 1 in the Theory chapter, explains the process of recodification of the streets. This is an idea developed by Lefebvre from a Marxist approach applied to space. The exercise of power in the cases used by Lefebvre was done directly by powerful actors. It was the state or industrial firms who transformed space strategically to facilitate capital accumulation practices. In the case of street vending, I argue that power is not exercised by powerful actors but by a powerful

commercial system. Therefore, I considered it relevant to understand the process of empowerment over time and the way it recodifies space.

A relevant difference of this work in relation to Lefebvre's theory is the focus on the empowerment process, especially in the case of the street vendors who are often considered, and sometimes are, powerless actors. I considered important not only to observe how powerful actors dominate the process of 'space production', but how such actors become powerful and able to do that. Based on the case study findings, I propose three main factors to explain the political empowerment of the street vending system using the case of the Tepito market.

I explored the process of empowerment looking at the role of authorities, the role of the street vendors and the creation of a joint co-management structure able to control and enforce new codes on space. Details on the analyses are developed in Chapter 4.

In part 4.1 I analysed the role of the city authorities, and the empowerment of the leaders of the vendors. By defining areas where the street vendors can decide who can sell in the streets and which items they can distribute, the city authorities are materialising rights to vendors to decide about the streets. It is worth mentioning that they are doing so without any regulatory frame. They are also empowering local leaders to the point of facing difficulties to counterbalance their authority at local level. This occurs as some cliques and candidates are using vendors as political supporters they have to pay back every time with more street concessions, which also reflects in the progressive consolidation of the market as a permanent structure. Therefore, the city authorities play an important role in the process of empowerment by granting the vendors areas to sell in the street, transferring political power to the leaders and building systematically commercial structures that fail to keep the vendors out of the streets but evolve as complementary commercial structures. Power to control the streets is transferred from the city authorities to the street vending commercial system.

In part 4.2 I explored the role of the street vendors, particularly the evolution of capabilities, in the process of empowerment. The city authorities played an important role, but the vendors took important advantages of the situation to develop and strengthen their capacities. The street vendors were local members of the Tepito community. A well known community for the level of social cohesion, exemplified in the case study by their reaction to the earthquake and their capacity to mobilise collectively. The street vendors used this capacity to organise and mobilise to resist eviction from the authorities. Thus the resilience of the Tepito community, based on social cohesion, was

used by the local street vendors to keep their activities as a livelihood during periods of repression. Vendors, especially women vendors, helped each other and formed initial organisations based on solidarity. Lately, they developed other capacities such as the capacity to organise and form unions, capacity to mobilise against threat of eviction, negotiation abilities (especially leaders), street management skills and the ability to consolidate the market as a progressively permanent structure becoming an attractive hub for clients. The capacity to develop new abilities and skills over time played an important role in the empowerment process, as important as the role played by the city authorities.

A significant difference of this research in relation to others on the political empowerment of the street vendors, is that I am arguing that the arrangements between vendors and authorities are not only granting space for vendors, but they are changing the properties of the space. Transformation of the Tepito neighbourhood changed its spatial form and the socio-spatial relationships the community has with space. The transformation of the neighbourhood is explained in Chapter 6. In fact, as a consequence of the exercise of power on a territory, the production of space is basically a recodification process.

In part 4.3 I analysed the recodification process in the case of Tepito and looked at the streets management structure as a regulatory system formed by formal institutions and street vendors' leaders operating as local authorities. I looked at the relationship between the co-management structure and the capacity to enforce a codification of the streets, giving it a specific 'form as a product'. The most evident example of this capacity is the definition of vending areas in the streets as an exclusive concession for the street vendors and managed by them with very little restrictions. By doing so, public spaces in the neighbourhood has been lost. The rules imposed to space (recodification process) are related to how the street vending system regulate the streets uses and practices. The concept of territorial resilience specially the formation of co-management structures as an important source of resilience was important to understand the capacity of the commercial system to get control of space and recodify its uses and practices.

Territorial resilience (see also resilience of socio-ecological systems) focuses on the power exerted on space. This concept was useful to overcome a gap in Lefebvre's theory and move towards a more dynamic approach to urban transformation. However, resilience by the formation of a co-management structure 'local community-authorities' is empowering some groups in the neighbourhood in exclusion of others. This finding

challenges the literature on territorial resilience, which follows the idea that community participation brings knowledge, sensibility and adaptability to the regulating system for its preservation over time. The Tepito case shows that communities are complex objects, they can split into competing groups and instrumentalise their own neighbourhood and ecological environments and destroy the social cohesion to exploit available assets, especially if they are increasingly valuable as the case of the streets in Tepito.

As formulated in the hypothesis 1. in the Theory chapter, the process of political empowerment of the street vending system is crucial to explain the process of production of space. Three aspects are particularly relevant. Firstly, the way the political system operates a self-interested cliques willing to negotiate space and street concessions with the street vendors in exchange of political support. Secondly, the use and development of multiple capacities by the street vendors allows them to collaborate collectively to resist eviction but also to consolidate control over space over time. Thirdly, the formation of streets co-management structures are an important source of power to control the streets but most important for the purpose of this thesis: to recodify space and change the 'rules of the game' in the neighbourhood.

(3) The multi-scalar organisation of space: a strategic output.

The production of space is a process that implies transformation of space for a strategic purpose. A spatial dimension is particularly significant to understand for which purposes and how street vending transforms space into a specific 'exchange-value'. Transformation of space, especially its configurations and values, is central to explain the process of production of space. Political empowerment can explain appropriation, control and management of space but cannot give insights to its specific organisation.

In the case of street vending, I considered an essential to look at the kind of socio-spatial organisation that results from the process and how it enhances the efficiency of the commercial system. The Tepito case shows that the properties of space are central to the process of production of space. Tepito would hardly become a world market without spatial properties such as location, relation to metropolitan expansion, community organisation.

I did three analyses to different objects of study presented in parts 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. These units of analysis are complex on itself, interrelated at multiple scales and containing each other as a Russian doll: stall-scale, street-scale and sector-scale. This specific organisation is a form of space. Therefore, street vending produces a complex, resilient

and multi-scalar organisation of space. From this perspective, I am arguing that the multi-scalar organisation of space is not only a random output, it is part of the requirements to facilitate economic fluxes in space. However, these fluxes are changing space itself; the streets becomes a valuable asset, an exchange-value, appropriated extensively for exclusive use. Space is not a changing 'object' appropriated by multiple uses and users through different lapses of time, but a fixed, commercially efficient 'object'. Space gets a socio-spatial form (organisation) to increase efficiency.

The concept of efficiency was used to argue that as the area becomes more structured and complex it increases its capacity to become an attractive commercial hub. For example, by developing a corridor specialised in clothes behind the Granaditas shoe market the commercial system is able to become more coherent and attractive to clients buying many complementary items in the same area. In the case of Tepito, the market is attracting clients even from far regions of the national territory.

The analysis of the stalls in relation to the supply chains shows that the streets are suitable places to run successful businesses. The stalls are the ultimate 'point of sale', which gives purpose to making the entire multi-layered organisation of the market. In fact, the objective of the market is to sell and to do it in the best possible manner to maximise profit; these transactions occur mainly on the streets.

The Tepito market mainly distributes locally-manufactured products and Asian imports. The analysis of stall 141 on Aztecas shows that products increase 30% of their value by being distributed in the street market, which has a direct impact upon the stall's commercial value. As space becomes more attractive in commercial terms, the streets acquire more monetary value. The generation of exchange-value occurs, as conceptualised by Lefebvre, to the detriment of the use-values of space. The major contribution of this research is to highlight this capacity of street vending in relation to space.

The integration of the street vending system into the global networks is a process that multiplies the generation of the exchange-value of space. Street vendors are able of finding business opportunities and to organise the imports. This was clear in Tepito during the illegal importation of *fayuca* and later with the Asian products. These commodities compete based on their low prices and their relative 'good looks', even if their quality is low. The introduction of these products into the market destroys the diversity of the local economy and accelerates the neighbourhood's commodification process due to its commercial success.

In relation to the second hypothesis, the analysis of the socio-spatial organisation of the market supports the following argument. The resilience of the commercial system is not only related to the capacities developed by the vendors and the structures formed with the authorities to manage the streets (properties related to the political empowerment), but the multi-scalar organisation of the market is also an important source of resilience. The market hosts a multiplicity of exchange connections knitted in space. I am arguing that the street market system is powerful because of its political linkages but also because of its functional properties. Resilience, in its multiple aspects and levels, plays an important role in the process of 'production of space'.

(4) Street vending and its relation to time.

Street vending evolves over time and becomes resilient enough to deal with political and economic changes, menaces of eviction, conflicts with other groups, natural disasters, and it even takes advantage of these situations. As shown in the case study, the way in which street vendors negotiated street access during the political crisis that followed the 1985 earthquake is an example of the resilience of this group. Resilience has helped the street vendors to survive throughout time, but it also promoted the development of new abilities. Street vendors built the capacity to consolidate the market and to garner rights to the street, yet outside of a regulatory framework, they in turn prevented other groups from using these spaces.

The practice of renting the streets is a clear example of the vendors' informal acquisition of rights over the public space. It also illustrates how street vending tends to make 'a product' out of the streets; an exchange value. The local community of Tepito did not establish a balance between 'using' the street as a support system for the local economy and 'exploiting' the street for profit making purposes. This is a reflection of how individuals operate: they come into collective organisations to survive, but when rights are eventually acquired, the same people shift to another kind of mentality in which they prefer to sell or rent their properties, knowing that although they might negatively affect the neighbourhood, they would still be improving their individual conditions. They prefer to maximise their economic benefits rather than relinquish any control on behalf of protecting the community interests.

The case shows that street vendors progressively build the idea that the street market belongs to them. This is partly true because the consolidation of the street as a market has been achieved with their effort, practises and time investment. To a certain degree, by building a market they have added value to the streets. However, the market was

consolidated on the street, which falls within the public domain. They know that the land is not theirs, but they rent out and appropriate the selling places as if they were private property, believing that they have the right to do this. For the street vendors, the market is a kind of 'capital' associated with a monetary value created by themselves over time.

The commercial value of the streets is related to the street-stalls role as support of economic transactions. Nevertheless, the increase of the streets' commercial value affects deeply the social, non commercial relations that space helps to construct. The organisation of the neighbourhood as a community is modified by individual, self-interested objectives. Lefebvre has pointed out the role of culture and emerging values in the production of space. Individuals may destroy their communities while seeking to improve their individual conditions; paradoxically, they use the neighbourhood's social capital to do it.

Over time street vendors learn how to organise, mobilise, take risks and deal with difficult situations as a normal routine. They know that their best opportunity is to make the most of each day because the future is uncertain. They search for business opportunities constantly and test different products. The street vendors' mentality gives coherence to their collective actions and leads the system towards its incredible efficiency. The emerging culture that the street market promotes comes into conflict with those of other local groups that still have a different set of values and a different vision of the neighbourhood.

The case shows that the development of different street vending capacities is leading the territory to its eventual transformation. These capacities are multiple; they include their political abilities and their capacities to organise by themselves, mobilise collectively and develop entrepreneurial abilities. The fact that space acquires an important commercial value, by becoming a 'profitable asset', is positively correlated to the interests of the vendors in keeping control of the streets. The argument that the development of capacities induces change was suggested by Saskia Sassen (2006) and applied in this research to the context of street vending. It is essential to consider how these capacities evolve in order to identify the tendencies of street vending to produce space, as a ramification of the street vendors' will to enhance their street businesses. This tendency has been neglected in the formulation of public policies.

(5) The transformation of the Tepito: a conflict of values

I explored the impact of the increasing organisation of the market in relation to the social, non-commercial organisation of Tepito as formulated in the third hypothesis. This case is a good example to look at community cohesion and disintegration. The Tepito community has developed its own culture due to its particular story, it shows its resilience as a community when the authorities tried to dismantle the neighbourhood to facilitate its integration in Mexico City in the 1960s and 1970s. However, I argue that the market dynamics have deeply depleted the neighbourhood and transformed it into a business asset by the group of vendors belonging to the local community.

I did three analyses to explore the transformation of the neighbourhood developed in Chapter 6. The first analysis studied the different significant elements that form a social configuration of space: the centres of the neighbourhood Church-square, the parks and public spaces and the housing typologies. I showed how the market has occupied important spaces for social interaction leaving the neighbourhood without such spaces. By occupying the square in front of the Church, this building has lost its original role in the neighbourhood, becoming a 'backyard' element instead of the centre of the community spatial organisation. I also observed how the collective houses, the courtyards and streets used to work as an economic and social continuum. After the streets had become overused commercial structures, the collective housing and patios became also the 'backup' elements serving mainly to support the market activities. The streets and its commercial value have become the central element dominating the organisation of the neighbourhood.

I did two analyses of the *vecindades* to show how the social, non-commercial relations that space contain has changed. The concept of social space was central in the analyses. The diversity of occupations of residents had decreased, residents tend to be related to the street market. Owners rent their renovated units or rooms in *vecindades* to employees of the market or as storage places. Maintenance of the buildings is a problem, the neighbourhood presents heavy physical and social depletion.

I use the concept of vulnerability developed by Folke to argue that a socio-spatial system is changing constantly, if it increases the efficiency (and specialisation) on one of its functions it will increase the vulnerability of the whole system (Folke et al. 2003). Resilience plays a key role in the process, the Tepito community was strong enough to face destruction and eviction. The organisation and mobilisation capacities of the community were important to understand the street vendors capacity to work

collectively and increase their power, using the capacities of the Tepito community to increase the efficiency of the commercial system. However, once a threshold was crossed, the organisations of the street vendors became merely instrumental, even though the leaders say the organisation is still a kind of 'family'. Once the system got powerful enough to control and enforce the codes of space to its convenience and needs, it subordinated the community uses (and values) of space to that of the market. Therefore, street vending as a powerful, resilient system is able to recodify space (to state what can be done, by whom and where).

As discussed in the relevant debates, the depletion of the local community and its role in codifying space is seen in this thesis not as a consequence of the market expansion, but as a necessary condition to get control of space and give a suitable form to enhance the efficiency of the market.

Production of space is conceptualised as a transformation that leads to depletion of the socio-spatial (non-commercial) organisation of a neighbourhood for the benefit of the commercial organisation benefiting an empowered group of the local community. The problem of production of space, as formulated in this thesis, regards the vulnerability of the neighbourhood by losing spaces for social interaction, reconfiguration of the neighbourhood and recodification of space. The local community loses its bounding properties, shared values and capacity to work collectively to give a social form (configuration) to the neighbourhood.

The forces that guided the process of production of space in the case of Tepito are: (1) political empowerment reflected in the capacity to exert control of space, (2) the formation over time of a complex, multi-scalar organisation by a resilient street vending system able to recodify space changing its uses and values, and (3) the dismantlement of the local community to increase the efficiency of the market, thus rendering the neighbourhood vulnerable to persist over time.

Implications for public policy

A full integration of street vendors into the cities requires their inclusion in the decision making processes. The case presented in this work shows the potential of forming joint management structures that are sensible to the vendors' practices, their specific needs, and the opportunities to develop the commercial potential of space. It also shows that this political empowerment requires a framework and the inclusion of other

stakeholders in order to prevent a system that unbalances the decisions of space in favour of the market actors.

The complete and total prohibition of street vending might create a similar situation as exemplified by Mexico City. Street vending is absorbing working force; that is, it is a solution for employment, furthermore, it covers an important consumption demand for the urban poor. It is difficult to eliminate this activity especially in expanding cities in the Global South. By prohibiting it, governments put themselves in a difficult position and at some point are obliged to re-negotiate the street vendors' conditions. It is preferable to establish a long lasting integration strategy.

Reliable information regarding market activities is a critical issue. Street vendors require manoeuvrability in order to carry out their operations. Nevertheless, the municipality needs reliable information about what is happening at street level to assert a proper level of territorial control, which is important, for example, to prevent the rentals of the street spaces. Reliable information regarding which groups are using the street is also needed to design tailored policies and build management strategies for the city governments.

Integrating street vending to city planning is a real challenge. On the one hand, markets are very specific; groups, needs and places require the design of specific solutions in particular in social and spatial contexts. On the other hand, markets are highly interconnected with other places of production and distribution, which requires a set of planning tools that respond to different scales. For example, principles of organisation at metropolitan and city scales could be articulated with local tools and plans that respond to the specificity of a market and the territory.

Street vending in general is reduced to the problem of allocating places for the existing vendors, but it lacks a territorial strategy. Some areas could develop commercial potential if addressed from a city planning perspective. The challenge should be to maintain a balance and manage residential and commercial uses. Street vending not only concerns the places occupied by the vendors directly in the streets; it requires complementary facilities such as warehouses, access points, parking areas, and other services. The spatial integration of street vending should take into account these kinds of facilities in the local plans.

In terms of city design, this work shows the potential of the streets to run successful businesses and support vulnerable social groups. For the moment, the cities' main concern is to organise the vendors within existing places. However, the question of how

to design new streets and spaces that develop commercial activities, by providing spaces to the vendors that would allow them to create their own market, and, at the same time, by working within a framework that allows other groups to find their place in such streets and spaces, has not been fully addressed.

Street vending is a frequently underestimated complex topic, which has little interest in the cities' political agenda. City governments are in fact taking the first steps towards developing public policies that address the phenomenon, but there is still work to be done.

Further research

Street vending is a topic that still needs research in many areas. One relevant aspect concerns the emergence of similar informal street markets in different parts of the world. Which are the patterns and the differences between these markets? How are they articulated? What is their role in the production-distribution networks? A global, comparative perspective might be needed to explore the phenomenon from a larger scale.

Another aspect to explore is the relationship between the manufacturing activities in the metropolitan area, especially those of families producing commodities in the cottage industry, and their distribution to the street markets. The experience of visiting the family that manufactures wrestling masks was interesting to understand the role of the street markets as a support for the productive sector. This topic could be explored further.

This research work presented street vending as a powerful system that results from multiple, external forces in a dialectic relation to the progressive development of internal capacities. The capacity of street vending to produce space relies on the ability to subordinate the use-values of space and the local community in order to appropriate the streets and open spaces to run its commercial activities. A contribution of this work is to bring into the debate the spatial dimension since, for the moment, the topic of street vending is dominated by social and political perspectives. Street vending as a production of space is a useful conceptualisation to understand the forces that might drive the system towards a negative evolution; yet, it highlights the commercial potential of space. Design and planning ideas can be drawn from this work to re-think the city and the

streets in regard to the logics of street vending by challenging traditional understandings of the streets and public spaces.

Bibliography

ANTHONY James, COHLER Bertram (1987) "The invulnerable child" The Guildford Press, London.

ALBA VEGA Carlos, LABAZEE Pascal (2007) "Liberalisation et secteur informel: réflexions à partir du cas mexicain" published on-line: Transcontinentales : N° 4, 1er semestre 2007, URL : <http://www.documentation.ird.fr/hor/fdi:010043711>

ALBA VEGA Carlos, LABAZEE Pascal (2007) "Liberalization, street trading and violence" in Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt "Fractured cities: social exclusion, urban violence and contested spaces in Latin America", Zed Books Ltd, London.

AGUILAR URBINA Luisa (1987) "Reconstrucción de las *vecindades* de Tepito ; vinculación UAM-AZC." BA Thesis of the Department of sociology, UAM (Autonomous Metropolitan University-UAM), Mexico City.

ARRECHIGA CORDOBA Ernesto (2003) "Tepito: del antiguo barrio de indios al arrabal: 1868-1929, historia de una urbanización inacabada" Unidad Obrera y socialista, Mexico City.

ARREGUI SOLANO Edmundo, CARDOSO MORENO Sergio, et. al. (1981) "Plan de mejoramiento para el barrio de Tepito", BA Thesis of the Faculty of Architecture (Taller 5 Autogobierno UNAM-National Autonomous University of Mexico), Vol I and II, Mexico City.

AUTORIDAD DEL CENTRO HISTORICO (2011) "Plan de manejo del Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México 2011-2016" Autoridad del Centro Histórico and Fideicomiso del Centro Histórico, Mexico City.

BALBO Marcello (2002) "La città inclusiva : argomenti per la città dei pvs" Franco Angeli, Milano.

BARBOSA CRUZ Mario (2008) "El trabajo en las calles: subsistencia y negociación política en la ciudad de México a comienzos del siglo XX" El Colegio de México, Mexico City.

BARONI Bruno Nazim, (2007) "Spatial stratification of street traders in downtown Mexico City" Master thesis supervised by Diane Davis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, available in DSpace@MIT

BARTHES Roland (1985) "L'aventure sémiologique", Editions du Seuil, Paris.

BAUDRILLARD Jean, MORIN Edgar (2003) "La violence du Monde" Félin, Paris.

BAUDRILLARD Jean (1968) "Le système des objets: la consommation des signes" Editions Gallimard, Paris.

BAZZACO Edoardo, SEPULVEDA Sebastián (2010) "Barrio trabajando: Metodología de evaluación de la participación ciudadana en proyectos de mejoramiento barrial" Centro Cultural de España en México AECID, Mexico City.

BHOWMIK Sharit (2010) "Street vendors in the global urban economy" Routledge, New Delhi

BIEL Robert (2012) "The entropy of capitalism" Brill Studies on critical social sciences, Leiden, The Netherlands.

BIEL Robert (2010) "Towards transition" in Levene, Mark, Rob Johnson and Penny Roberts, eds, "History at the End of the World?" History, Climate Change and the Possibility of Closure, Penrith (Humanities-Ebooks).

BLANTON Richard (1996) "The basin of Mexico market system and the growth of the empire" in Aztec Imperial Strategies, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington D.C.

BORJA Jordi and CASTELLS Manuel (1997) "Local and global: The Management of cities in the information age" UNCHS (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements), United Kingdom.

BOURDIN Alain (2005) "La métropole des individus" Editions de l'Aube, Paris.

BRENNER Neil, KEIL Roger (2006) "The global city reader" Routledge: Urban Reader Series, Oxon New York.

BROMLEY Ray (2000) "Street trading and public policy: a global review", International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, Vol. 20 Iss: 1/2, pp.1 – 28

BROWN Alison (2006) "Contested space: street trading, public space, and livelihoods in developing countries", Intermediate Technology Publications, Schumacher Centre for Technology and Development, Warwickshire, United Kingdom.

CALABI Donatella (2004) "The market and the City: Square, street and architecture in early modern Europe" Ashgate Publishing Limited, Hampshire, United Kingdom.

CALABRO Anna Rita (1997), "L'ambivalenza come Risorsa" Laterza, Bari.

CARRARO Rita, CIPOLLA Francesca, ORIARD Lila (2006) "Conservation in developing countries: Patan World Heritage Site in the list in danger" published on: Balbo Marcello and Cusinato Augusto "Quaderni IUAV 42", University of Venice, Department of urban planning, Italy.

CARRION Fernando and HANLEY Lisa (2007) "Urban regeneration and revitalization in the americas: towards a stable state" Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington D.C.

CASTILLO BERTHIER (2005) "Ambulantaje versus políticas públicas" published on: Monnet Jérôme and Juliette Bonnafé (coordinators.), "El ambulantaje en la Ciudad de México: investigaciones recientes". Programa de Estudios Universitarios sobre la Ciudad, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México / CEMCA, CD-Rom, México.

CENTRO GUIA PARA CAMINANTES Magazine N°49 "The urban renewal of the Historical Centre" Year VI, March 2008, Mexico City.

CHOAY Françoise (1965) "L'urbanisme utopies et réalités" Editions du Seuil, Paris.

COHEN SILVER Roxanne (2005) "Psychological responses to natural and Man-made disasters" in first session sub-committee of research "The role of social science research in disaster preparedness and response" Committee on science, Washington. URL: <http://www.house.gov/science>

COULOMB René (2009) "De la reconstrucción post sísmica al programa de vivienda de alto riesgo: buenas prácticas y desafíos por enfrentar en el centro histórico de la Ciudad de México", paper presented in the VIII International Seminar for the Management of City Centres, vulnerability, risks and prevention of crises, La Habana.

COULOMB René (2010) "Actividades comerciales y estrategias de integralidad socioeconómica y territorial en el centro histórico de la ciudad de México", UAM -AZ, Mexico City.

COUVENT Priscille (2010) "La résilience territoriale: du concept à l'application" Master Thesis in City management at the Management Institute for Entreprises, Lille.

CROSS John (1998) "Informal Politics: street traders and the State in Mexico City" Stanford University Press, California.

CROSS John (2005) "Las organizaciones" en MONNET Jérôme y BONNAFE Juliette "Memoria del seminario: El ambulante en la ciudad de México investigaciones recientes" PUEC, CEMCA México D.F.

CROSS John, MORALES Alfonso (2007) "Street entrepreneurs: people, places and politics in global and local perspective" Routledge, London.

CROSSA Veronica, (2009) "Resisting the Entrepreneurial City: Street Traders' Struggle in Mexico City's Historic Centre" article published in the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 33 Issue 1, online from 21 Jan 2009.

DALLEN Timothy and BOYD Stephen (2003) "Heritage tourism" Prentice Hall Pearson Education Limited, Essex.

DAVIS Diane (2007) "Conflict, cooperation, convergent: globalization and the politics of downtown development in Mexico City" published in Research in political sociology, volume 15, ISSN 0895 - 9935.

DAVIS Diane (2005) "Reverberations: Mexico City's 1985 earthquake and the transformation of the capital" in Campanella Thomas and Vale Lawrence "The resilient city: How modern cities recover from disaster" Oxford University Press, Oxford.

DE ALBA GONZALEZ Martha (2010) "Memoria y representaciones sociales del Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México: experiencias de nuevos y viejos residentes", in Seminario Permanente Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México, Coordinación de Humanidades, Programa Universitario de Estudios sobre la Ciudad, Programa de Maestría y Doctorado en Urbanismo, UNAM p. 53-82, Mexico City.

DE MATTOS Carlos (2004) "Santiago de Chile de cara a la globalización, otra ciudad ?" in AGUILAR "Procesos metropolitanos y grandes ciudades" UNAM CONACYT, Mexico.

DE SOTO Hernando (1989) "The other path: the invisible revolution in the Third World" Harper and Row, New York (original in Spanish from 1986).

DEUTSCHE Rosalyn (2002) "From evictions: Art and spatial politics" in "The Blackwell City Reader" by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

DI MEO Guy (1988) "De l'espace au territoire: elements pour une archéologie des concepts fondamentaux de la géographie", *Persée: l'information géographique* Vol. 62 No. 3 p. 99-110, Paris.

DUHAU Emilio and GIGLIA Angela (2008) "Las reglas del desorden: habitar la metropoli" published by UAM Azcapotzalco Editorial Siglo XIX, Mexico City.

DURKHEIM Emile (1895) "Les règles de la méthode sociologique" *Champs classiques*, Paris.

EIBENSCHUTZ Roberto (1999) "Gobernabilidad y gestión gubernamental; gobierno y corrupción" Programa de gestión urbana Coordinación para América Latina y el Caribe, Quito.

EINADI Bahgat, RIFAAT Adel (1996) "Tlatelolco, shop window of the Aztec empire" in "The marketplace: past and present", *The UNESCO Courier*, Paris.

ESCALANTE Fernando (1993) "Ciudadanos Imaginarios" *El Colegio de Mexico*, Mexico.

FAJNZYLBER Fernando (1983) "La industrialización trunca de América Latina" Editorial Nueva Imagen, México City.

FERGUS Lyon (2007) "Institutional perspectives on understanding street retailer behaviour and networks: cases from Ghana" in MORALES Alonso and CROSS John "Street entrepreneurs: people, places and politics in local and global perspectives" Routledge, London.

FREDRIK Moberg (2011) "What is resilience? An introduction to social-ecological research" SRC (Stockholm Resilience Centre), Stockholm

URL: <http://www.stockholmresilience.org>

FOLKE Carl, COLDING Johan, BERKES Fikret (2003) "Navigating socio-ecological systems: Building resilience for complexity and change" Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

FOLKE Carl, BOYD Emily (2012) "Adapting Institutions: governance, complexity, and socio-ecological resilience", Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.

FRIEDMANN John, (1979) "Territory and function: the evolution of regional planning" E. Arnold, London.

GARCIA CANCLINI Nestor (2005) "Diferentes, desiguales y desconectados: mapas de la interculturalidad" Gedisa, Barcelona.

GARMEZY Norman, HAGGERTY Robert, SHEROD Lonnie (1994) "Stress, risk, and resilience in children and adolescents" Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.

GARZA Rosalba, PANDAL GONZALEZ Adrian (2011) "Centro Histórico: 100 años de revitalización" Fundación del Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México A.C., Mexico City.

GIDDENS Anthony (1990) "The consequences of Modernity" Polity Press, Cambridge.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA 2009) "Support to Urban Street Vendors: Operational Guidelines", National Urban Livelihoods Mission, NULM, New Delhi

GONZALEZ Marco, TORRES MEDINA Javier, JIMENEZ Omar (2008) "La república informal: El ambulante en la Ciudad de México" Tecnológico de Monterrey, Cámara de Comercio Servicios y Turismo de la Ciudad de México, Editorial Porrúa, Mexico City.

HALL Edward T. (1966) "La dimension cachée" Editions du Seuil, Paris.

HARVEY David (1985) "The urban process under capitalism: a framework for analysis" in the Urbanisation of capital, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

HARVEY David (1989) "The condition of postmodernity" Brasil Blackwell, Cambridge.

HOFMANN AGUIRRE Víctor (2001) "Regeneración de los Centros Urbanos en la Delegación Miguel Hidalgo: El comercio en la vía pública en el centro urbano de Tacuba" Master Thesis in Urbanism, UNAM-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, URL:<http://www.bc.unam.mx>

HOLLING C.S. (2002) "Panarchy: understanding transformations in human and natural systems", Island Press, Washington D.C.

ILO International Labour Organization (2002) "Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture" ILO publications, Geneva

INEGI, Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e informática (2004) "Delimitación de las zonas metropolitanas de México" INEGI, SEDESOC, CONAPO, México City.

INEGI Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e informática (1977) "1er Censo de población de la Nueva España 1790" Dirección de Estadística, Mexico City.

JACOBS Jane (1992, first edition 1961) "The death and life of great American cities" Vintage Books, New York.

KOOLHAAS Rem, BOERI Stefano, et.al. (2001) "Mutations", Arc en rêve Centre d'Architecture, Bordeaux.

KOURTESSI-PHILIPPAKIS Georgia, TREUIL René (2011) "Archéologie du territoire, de l'Egée au Sahara" Chapter I. La notion de territoire: définitions et approches, p. 7-13, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris.

LEFEBVRE Henri (2000, first edition 1974) "La production de l'espace" Anthropos, Paris.

LEFEBVRE Henri (2009 first edition 1968) "Le droit à la ville" Anthropos, Paris.

LEGRAND Christine (2009) Article at: Le Monde Amériques "La Salada, marché des pauvres de Buenos Aires, attire désormais la classe moyenne" (23/06/2009)

URL : http://www.lemonde.fr/ameriques/article/2009/06/23/la-salada-marche-des-pauvres-de-buenos-aires-attire-desormais-la-classe-moyenne_1210280_3222.html

LYNCH Kevin (1960) "The image of the city" MIT Press, Cambridge.

MANRIQUE Mario (1995) "Tepito Arte Acá" Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Ed. Ente, Mexico City.

MARTINEZ Nancy Fabiola (2001) "Una mirada a la calle desde el comercio en la vía pública" Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana,

URL: www.azc.uam.mx/tye/comercioenviapublica.htm

MEISSONNIER Joël (2006) « Marchands de Rue à Istanbul : présence urbaine d'une offre commerciale en perpétuelle recomposition spatiale » Les dossiers de l'Iféa N° 19, IFEA, Istanbul.

MELE Patrice (2004) "Conflits patrimoniaux et régulations urbains" published in Ville, Société, Territoire- UMR CNRS CITERS, Université de Tours, France

MONNET Jérôme (1993) "Mexico et son double" Nathan, Paris.

MONNET Jérôme (2005) "Conceptualización del ambulante; de los vendedores a los clientes: un acercamiento a la metrópoli posfordista" in MONNET Jérôme y BONNAFE Juliette"; CD ROM from the International Seminar held in Mexico City 2005: El Ambulante en la Ciudad de México, investigaciones recientes" CEMCA, PUEC, Mexico City.

MONNET Jérôme (2007) "Street trade and mobility services: the Crossroads in Mexico City", *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography*, N° 371, 06 April 2007;

URL: <http://cybergeo.revues.org>

MUBUU Kamau *et al.* (2001) "Inheritance laws and practices affecting Kenyan women", *Women and Law in East Africa*, Nairobi.

MUMFORD Lewis (1968) "The urban prospect" Harcourt Brace and Wold (editors), New York.

OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2004) "Territorial Reviews: Mexico City", OECD publications, Paris.

PARNREITER Christoph (2002) "Mexico: the making of a global city" in *Global Networks* edited by Saskia Sassen, Routledge, London.

PITELIS Christos (2002) "Stephen Hymer, life and the political economy of multinational corporate capital", Oxford University Press, Oxford.

PORTES Alejandro, CASTELLS Manuel (1989) "The informal economy", The John Hopkins University Press LTD, London.

PRADILLA COBOS (2007) "¿El Centro Histórico sin ambulantes?" published in *Metropoli 2025*, Octubre 2007, URL: www.metropoli2025.com

PRADILLA COBOS Emilio and MARQUEZ LOPEZ Lisett (2008) "Desindustrialización, tercerización y estructura metropolitana: un debate necesario" *Cuadernos del CENDES* Año 25 N°69 Septiembre 2008.

QUARANTELLI E.L. (1993) "Organizational response to the Mexico City earthquake of 1985: characteristics and implications" Kluwer Academic Publishers, Netherlands.

REBOTIER Julien (2001) "Résilience territoriale", Paris.

REGENERIS Consulting LTD (2010) "London's retail street markets, draft final report"
London Development Agency, Greater London Authority

URL: <http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/archives/London-Retail-Street-Markets-2010.pdf>

RIBARDIERE Antonine, TALLET Bernard (2011) "Atlas mégaloilles : Mexico" Editions Autrement, Paris.

RICHARDSON John T.E. (1996) "Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences", BPS Books (The British Psychological Society), Leicester, United Kingdom.

RIVIERE D'ARC Hélène and MEMOLI Maurizio (2005) "Le pari urbain en Amérique Latine : vivre dans le centre des villes" Armand Colin, Paris.

ROSSI Aldo (2006, first edition 1966) "l'architettura della città", Cittastudi edizioni, Torino.

SANCHEZ VALVERDE Gabriel (2009) "Tepito Recicla, Tepito Sustenta" Master thesis at the Polytechnic University of Catalunya, Centro Metropolitano de Arquitectura Sostenible, Mexico City.

SASSEN Saskia, LYND Robert (2011) Article at FORBES: "La Salada : the largest informal market in South America", Megacities opportunities at urban edges (3/28/2011)

URL: <http://www.forbes.com/sites/megacities/2011/03/28/la-salada-the-largest-informal-market-in-south-america/>

SASSEN Saskia (2006) "Territory, authority, rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages", Princeton University Press, Oxfordshire.

SASSEN Saskia (2006, first edition 1994) "Cities in the world economy" Pine Forge Press, London.

SASSEN Saskia (2001, first edition 1991) "The global city: New York, London, Tokyo" Princeton University Press, Princeton.

SEGAL Julius (1981) "A child's journey: the forces that shape the lives of our young" Penguin Education, Middlesex United Kingdom.

SILVA LODOÑO Diana Alejandra (2011) "Negociando la (in)formalidad. Las contendas por el desalojo del comercio ambulante en el Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México 1990-2008" PhD thesis in sociology at El Colegio de México, Mexico City.

SITTE Camilo (1889) "L'art de bâtir les villes", point seuil, Paris.

SOJA Edward (2000) "Postmetropolis: Critical study of cities and regions" Blackwell publishers, Oxford.

SUÁREZ PAREYÓN Alejandro (2010) "La función habitacional del centro histórico y el desafío de su regeneración" in Seminario Permanente Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México, Coordinación de Humanidades, Programa Universitario de Estudios sobre la Ciudad (PUEC), Programa de Maestría y Doctorado en Urbanismo, p. 35-52, UNAM, Mexico City.

STAMM Caroline (2005) "Balance de las *plazas* comerciales populares en el Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México" published in: Monnet J. et Bonnafé J., "El ambulantaje en la Ciudad de México: investigaciones recientes". Programa de Estudios Universitarios sobre la Ciudad (PUEC), UNAM-CEMCA, CD-Rom, Mexico City.

TENA NUÑEZ Ricardo, URRIETA GARCIA Salvador (2009) "El barrio de la Merced: Estudio para su regeneración integral" Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México, Instituto Politécnico Nacional, Mexico City.

TISSERON Serge (2007) "La résilience" Collection Que sais-je? N°3785, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

TOMAS François (2005) "Estrategias socioespaciales y construcción/destrucción de la identidad urbana: apuntes a partir del caso de Tepito" in Tamayo S., Wildner K. "Identidades urbanas", Cultura Universitaria/85/Serie ensayo, UAM, pp. 335-357, Mexico City.

TOMAS François "Tepiteños" (1990) published in: TRACE N° 17 "Ciudad, escenas y bambalinas" CEMCA, Mexico City.

TRANBERG HANSEN Karen, E. LITTLE Walter, MILGRAM Lynne (2013) "Street economies in the urban Global South" School for Advance Research Press, Advanced Seminar Series, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA.

VAN DER HAAK, Bregtje (2003) "Lagos/Koolhaas", Icarus films DVD, Brooklyn, New York.

VARLEY Ann, A. JONES Gareth (1994) "The contest for the city centre: Street traders versus buildings" published in the Bulletin of Latin American Research, Vol. 13, No. 1, Special Issue: The Latin American City as Contested Space (Jan., 1994), pp. 27-44.

VARLEY Ann (1998) "New models of urban land regularization in Mexico: decentralization and democracy vs. clientelism" Department of geography UCL, London.

ZICCARDI Alicia (2010) "Trayectorias de vida, mujeres dirigentes del comercio popular en el Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México" Cuadernos de Investigación, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Coordinación de Humanidades, Programa Universitario de Estudios sobre la Ciudad, Mexico City.

ZUKIN Sharon, (1991) "Landscapes of power: from Detroit to Disney World", California University Press, Oxford.

INGALLINA Patrizia, PARK Jungyoon (2005) "City marketing et espaces de consommation: les nouveaux enjeux de l'attractivité urbaine" published in : Urbanisme ISSN 1240-0844, Paris.

Internet sites :

<http://www.othermarkets.org>

<http://www.streetvendor.org>

<http://wiego.org/informal-economy/occupational-groups/street-traders>

Appendices

Annex 1 Survey done to the ASVA on Aztecas Street

1. Stall ID _____

2. Business line _____

1. Employment

3. The stall is rented?

1. Yes

2. No

4. How many family members work in the stall? _____

5. How many employees work in the stall? _____

2. Street vendors living in the city centre

6. The 'owners' of the stall live in:

1. The city centre

2. The city centre surroundings

3. Used to live in the city centre but moved out

4. Other

7. If the 'stall-owners' live in the city centre they live in:

1. They don't live in the city centre

2. Vecindad

3. Renovation unit

4. Other

8. How many of the employees live in the city centre? _____

3. Street vendors' spatial mobility

9. Since how many years the 'stall-owners' sell in the city centre? _____

10. In which streets they used to sell before setting up in Aztecas Street? _____

11. How many years they have been selling in Aztecas Street? _____

12. The stall has been inherited from the parents or family members?

1. Yes

2. No

13. Level of education of the 'owners' sons and daughters:

1. They don't have children

2. Primary or secondary education

3. High school or technical school

4. Studying bachelors

5. Graduated

4. Local economy

14. For how many years the 'owner' has been working with the current business-line? _____

15. The commodities sold in the stall are mainly national-produced goods? 1. Yes 2. No

16. The 'owner' or his/her family participates in the production of the goods sold in the stall?

1. Yes

2. No

Annex 2 Results of the analysis applied to the ASVA database

Document generated automatically by Addati, a software for statistical analysis
Data Set < Dataset 02 > - DISTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES
The distributions have been computed OVER ALL STATISTICAL UNITS.

VARIABLE 2: 'KIND OF GOODS' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories abs.freq. %

" 1"	"CLOTH	"	43	60.56	*****
" 2"	"CRAFTS	"	3	4.23	*
" 3"	"FOOD AND LOCAL SERVICES	"	1	1.41	
" 4"	"SEASONAL	"	8	11.27	****
" 5"	"ARTICLES RELATED TO CLOT"		13	18.31	*****
" 6"	"OTHER ARTICLES	"	3	4.23	*

TOTAL 71 100.00

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0

VARIABLE 3: 'PROPERTY OF STALL' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories abs.freq. %

" 1"	"RENTED-YES	"	27	38.03	*****
" 2"	"RENTED-NO	"	44	61.97	*****

TOTAL 71 100.00

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0

VARIABLE 4: FAMILY MEMBERS WORKING IN STALL

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0

Valid cases : 71

Average = 3.014 Std.dev. = 2.139 Minimum = 0 Maximum = 10

Distribution in 5 classes - Thresholds: user defined Weight applied: None

```
*****
*CLASS MIN * CLASS' * N. OF * % OF *
*(included)* AVERAGE * UNITS * UNITS *
*****
*          *          *          *
CL01 *      0 *      0.00 *      1 *      1.41 *
CL02 *      1 *      1.00 *     18 *     25.35 *
CL03 *      2 *      2.00 *     18 *     25.35 *
CL04 *      3 *      3.00 *     13 *     18.31 *
CL05 *      4 *      5.76 *     21 *     29.58 *
*          *          *          *
*****
```

VARIABLE 5: EMPLOYEES

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0

Valid cases : 71

Average = 0.732 Std.dev. = 1.310 Minimum = 0 Maximum = 5

Distribution in 5 classes - Thresholds: user defined Weight applied: None

```
*****
*CLASS MIN * CLASS' * N. OF * % OF *
*(included)* AVERAGE * UNITS * UNITS *
*****
*          *          *          *
CL01 *      0 *      0.00 *     48 *     67.61 *
CL02 *      1 *      1.00 *     10 *     14.08 *
CL03 *      2 *      2.00 *      4 *      5.63 *
CL04 *      3 *      3.00 *      4 *      5.63 *
CL05 *      4 *      4.40 *      5 *      7.04 *
*          *          *          *
*****
```

```

-----
VARIABLE 6: 'STALL USERS LIVE IN:' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories                abs.freq.      %
-----
" 1"  "CITY CENTER"                "      27      38.03 *****
" 2"  "CITY CENTER SORROUNDINGS"    15      21.13 *****
" 3"  "USED TO LIVE IN CITY CEN"     1       1.41
" 4"  "OTHER"                      "      28      39.44 *****

TOTAL                                71     100.00

```

```

-----
EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0   Missing: 0
-----

```

```

-----
VARIABLE 7: 'KIND OF RESIDENTIAL UNIT IN CITY CENTER' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories                abs.freq.      %
-----
" 1"  "NOT LIVING IN CITY CENTE"    32      45.07 *****
" 2"  "VECINDAD"                    15      21.13 *****
" 3"  "UNIDAD DE RENOVACION"         11      15.49 *****
" 4"  "OTHER"                       13      18.31 *****

TOTAL                                71     100.00

```

```

-----
EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0   Missing: 0
-----

```

```

-----
VARIABLE 8: EMPLOYEES LIVING IN CITY CENTER
-----

```

```

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0   Missing: 0
Valid cases : 71
Average = 0.268   Std.dev. = 0.871   Minimum = 0   Maximum = 5
Distribution in 5 classes - Thresholds: user defined Weight applied: None

```

```

*****
*CLASS MIN *   CLASS' * N. OF * % OF *
*(included)* AVERAGE * UNITS * UNITS *
*****
*           *         *      *      *
CL01 *       0 *       0.00 *   62 *  87.32 * *****
CL02 *       1 *       1.00 *    5 *   7.04 * ***
CL03 *       2 *       2.00 *    1 *   1.41 *
CL04 *       3 *       3.00 *    1 *   1.41 *
CL05 *       4 *       4.50 *    2 *   2.82 * *
*           *         *      *      *
*****

```

```

-----
VARIABLE 9: TIME OF SELLING IN CITY CENTER
-----

```

```

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0   Missing: 0
Valid cases : 71
Average = 21.451   Std.dev. = 12.045   Minimum = 1   Maximum = 46
Distribution in 7 classes - Thresholds: user defined Weight applied: None

```

```

*****
*CLASS MIN *   CLASS' * N. OF * % OF *
*(included)* AVERAGE * UNITS * UNITS *
*****
*           *         *      *      *
CL01 *       1 *       2.00 *    3 *   4.23 * *****
CL02 *       5 *       8.45 *   20 *  28.17 * *****
CL03 *      15 *      15.00 *    5 *   7.04 * *****
CL04 *      18 *      19.83 *   12 *  16.90 * *****
CL05 *      25 *      29.00 *   17 *  23.94 * *****
CL06 *      35 *      37.58 *   12 *  16.90 * *****
CL07 *      45 *      45.50 *    2 *   2.82 * ***
*           *         *      *      *
*****

```

```

-----
VARIABLE 10: 'PLACE THEY SELL BEFORE' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories                abs.freq.      %
-----

```

```

" 1"  "AZTECAS STREET"                "      31      43.66 *****
" 2"  "NEAR STREETS IN NORTH SE"      16      22.54 *****
" 3"  "CITY CENTER CORE AREA"         13      18.31 *****

```

" 4"	"OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS	"	1	1.41
" 5"	"NEW VENDOR	"	3	4.23 **
" 6"	"TEPITO	"	7	9.86 *****

TOTAL			71	100.00
-------	--	--	----	--------

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0

VARIABLE 11: TIME OF SELLING IN AZTECAS ST

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0
Valid cases : 71
Average = 17.521 Std.dev. = 12.569 Minimum = 1 Maximum = 46
Distribution in 4 classes - Thresholds: user defined Weight applied: None

```

*****
*CLASS MIN * CLASS' * N. OF * % OF *
*(included)* AVERAGE * UNITS * UNITS *
*****
* * * * *
CL01 * 1 * 2.46 * 13 * 18.31 * *****
CL02 * 5 * 8.28 * 18 * 25.35 * *****
CL03 * 15 * 18.00 * 19 * 26.76 * *****
CL04 * 25 * 34.33 * 21 * 29.58 * *****
* * * * *
*****

```

VARIABLE 12: 'IS THE STALL INHERITED FROM FAMILY' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories abs.freq. %

" 1"	"YES	"	9	12.68 ***
" 2"	"NO	"	62	87.32 *****

TOTAL			71	100.00
-------	--	--	----	--------

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0

VARIABLE 13: 'LEVEL OF EDUCATION' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories abs.freq. %

" 1"	"NO CHILDREN	"	12	16.90 *****
" 2"	"PRIMARY OR SECUNDARY	"	20	28.17 *****
" 3"	"HIGH SCHOOL OR TECHNICAL"		23	32.39 *****
" 4"	"BACHELORS IN COURSE	"	8	11.27 *****
" 5"	"BACHELORS DEGREE OR MORE"	"	8	11.27 *****

TOTAL			71	100.00
-------	--	--	----	--------

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0

VARIABLE 14: TIME OF SELLING THE KIND OF GOODS

EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0 Missing: 0
Valid cases : 71
Average = 17.338 Std.dev. = 11.925 Minimum = 1 Maximum = 45
Distribution in 5 classes - Thresholds: user defined Weight applied: None

```

*****
*CLASS MIN * CLASS' * N. OF * % OF *
*(included)* AVERAGE * UNITS * UNITS *
*****
* * * * *
CL01 * 1 * 2.10 * 10 * 14.08 * *****
CL02 * 5 * 9.00 * 22 * 30.99 * *****
CL03 * 15 * 15.29 * 7 * 9.86 * *****
CL04 * 18 * 19.85 * 13 * 18.31 * *****
CL05 * 25 * 34.05 * 19 * 26.76 * *****
* * * * *
*****

```

```

-----
VARIABLE 15:  '% OF NATIONAL MERCHANDISE' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories                abs.freq.      %
-----
" 1"  "YES                "          42    59.15 *****
" 2"  "ONLY IMPORTED      "          14    19.72 *****
" 3"  "MIXED              "          15    21.13 *****

TOTAL                      71    100.00

-----
EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0   Missing: 0
-----

VARIABLE 16:  'VENDORS PARTICIPATE IN PRODUCTION' - Weight applied: 'none'
categories                abs.freq.      %
-----
" 1"  "YES                "           7     9.86 **
" 2"  "NO                 "          64    90.14 *****

TOTAL                      71    100.00

-----
EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0   Missing: 0
-----

VARIABLE 17: PLACES OCCUPIED IN STREET
-----
EXCLUDED UNITS - Invalid: 0   Missing: 0
Valid cases : 71
Average = 4.310   Std.dev. = 2.498   Minimum = 1   Maximum = 12
Distribution in 4 classes - Thresholds: user defined Weight applied: None

*****
*CLASS MIN *   CLASS' * N. OF * % OF *
*(included)* AVERAGE * UNITS * UNITS *
*****
*           *           *           *
CL01 *       1 *       1.62 *   16 * 22.54 * *****
CL02 *       3 *       3.24 *   29 * 40.85 * *****
CL03 *       6 *       6.26 *   19 * 26.76 * *****
CL04 *       9 *       9.57 *    7 *  9.86 * *****
*           *           *           *
*****

```

Document generated automatically by Addatti Wed Nov 09 13:15:39 2011

```

*****
* ANALYSIS OF CORRESPONDENCES *
*****

```

ANALYSIS OF 71 UNITS DESCRIBED BY 15 VARIABLES
ACTIVE UNITS: 71 - SUPPLEMENTARY UNITS: 0
The variables are of type CATEGORIAL
3 categorial variables, recoded to complete disjonctive form (15 categories altogether).
Variables: business line, years selling in the city centre, national production

Document generated automatically by Addatti Wed Nov 09 19:17:05 2011

```

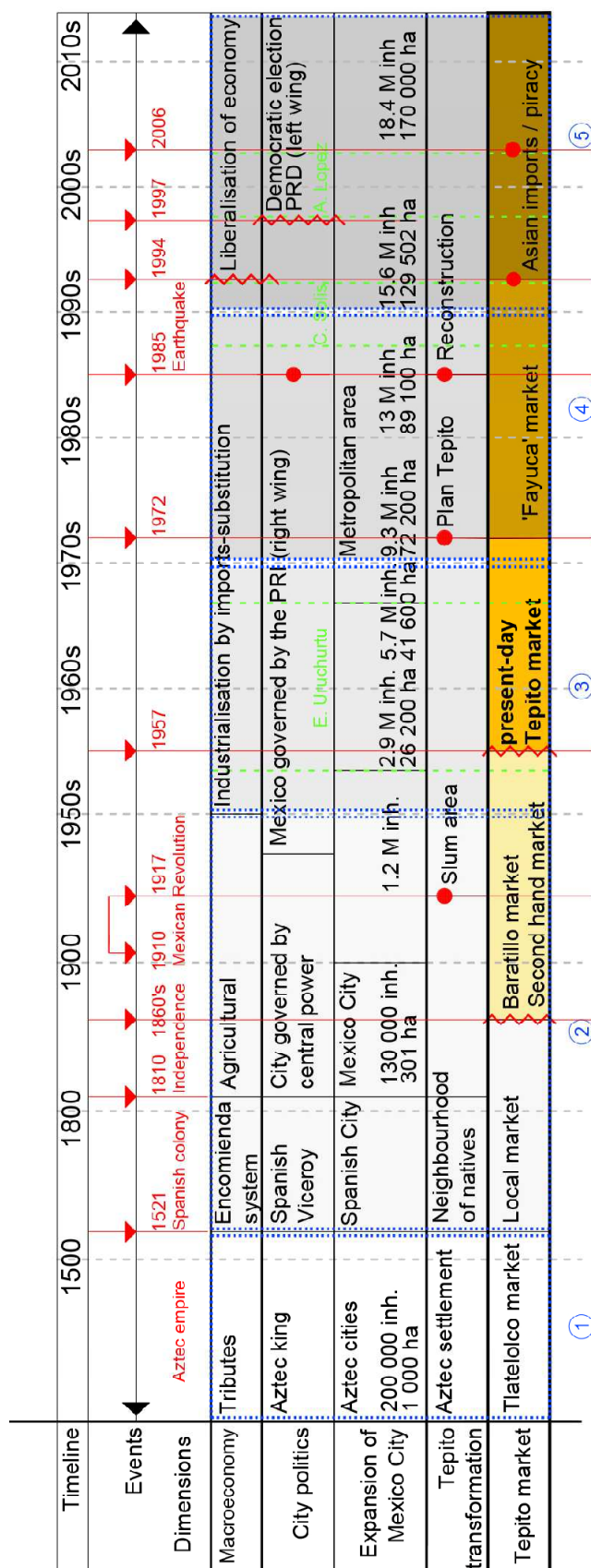
*****
* NON-HIERARCHICAL CLUSTERING *
*****
(method of dynamic clouds, by E.Diday)

```

71 RECORDS READ FROM FILE <C:\Documents and Settings\LILA\Mes documents\PHD data
analysis\Aztecas Street database\Adatti analisis\Original set\NOV1.PCS>
THE INPUT TABLE CONSISTS OF FACTORIAL CO-ORDINATES WRITTEN BY ACORR
2 SIDE-BY-SIDE CONTINGENCY TABLE(S) IN THE INPUT TABLE.

UNITS TO BE CLASSIFIED: 71 - 71 ACTIVE, 0 SUPPLEMENTARY
CLASSIFICATION ON 0 FACTORS
PROFILE VARIABLES: 8

EXPLORATORY PARTITION: 4
PARTITIONS TO BE CROSSED: 2
REQUESTED CLASSES: 4
INITIAL AGGREGATION SEEDS: REPEATABLE RANDOM CHOICE



Annex 4 Comments on the article about street vendors in the historic centre

Comments on the article 'The city historic centre without street vendors'

Published on the 20th March 2009 (70 comments received in total)

Blog: *Ciudadanos en Red* (Citizens in the Net, Mexico City)

<http://ciudadanosenred.com.mx/el-centro-ya-no-es-lo-mismo-sin-sus-ambulantes-de-antano/>

Roberto Soto 24th March 2009 11:00 PM

No es posible que una persona que se dice tener títulos de urbanista y etc. títulos imaginativos, (Deben ser comprados en la Plaza de Santo Domingo) haga ese tipo de comentarios, defendiendo un comercio sin oficio ni beneficio. Les comento que vivo fuera del D.F. desde hace aproximadamente 10 años y ahora que por razones de trabajo voy mi adorado D.F. y propiamente al centro histórico, y puedo disfrutar de caminatas donde puedo observar sin contaminación visual algún aparador o comer algo delicioso como unas tlayudas en algún puesto establecido e la entrada de un edificio, es cuando verdaderamente extraño mi amado D.F. que en los tiempos que yo viví en él, verdaderamente quería salir de ahí por que unas personas con disfras de comerciantes se adueñaron de aceras parques y de mas y que se tenía casi caminar de puntitas, por poble del que pisara, tocara, chocara con un puesto de esta gente por tenía uno que pagar caro las consecuencias, en fin, nose a quien tenga que agradecer que tomaran cartas en un asunto que por años a mucha gente del poder le faltó valor. Cada vez que tengo que ir al D.F. y observo nuestro Centro Histórico limpio, avenidas de primer nivel y obras de mejoramiento, me da mucho gusto estar nuevamente en mi adorado D.F. Por favor no caigamos en comentarios o artículos o lo que sea que nos conduzcan a dar marcha a tras a algo que a todos los ciudadanos les ha costado. Doitora Por favor esfumece del D.F.

It is not possible that a person who has a title in urban planning had wrote this article. The author defends an activity which represents no benefit for the society. I moved out of Mexico City, but when I lived there the street vendors had appropriated the sidewalks and parks, and we had to walk cautiously because if you hit a street-stall you had to pay the consequences. I am thankful with the officials that have played an active role to move them out. Every time that I go to the city centre and the streets are clean and modern I feel very happy. Please do not take into account these comments or articles that will lead us to a backwards position neglecting what we, the citizens, have already achieved. Doctor, please don't come back to Mexico City.

Carlos Indignado 22th March 2009 11:00 PM

Lo que hay que ver!!! Si es que en realidad es maestra y urbanista (que cuesta trabajo creer), entendería su postura acerca de los ambulantes solamente pensando que usted ha vivido del presupuesto del CONACYT por muchos años, y por lo mismo ha podido establecerse lejos de este país y de este gobierno de la capital casi dictatorial. Los ambulantes a nadie hacen bien más que a ellos mismos, ojalá no contribuyera en sus luchas a conservar el estilo de vida fuera de la ley que nos lleva a ser lo que somos hoy. Una vergüenza siquiera leer su artículo. Apoyar lo ilegal sencillamente no tiene inteligencia alguna. Esto es lo que nos ganamos de uno más de los intelectualoides que viven del presupuesto y que nunca han sabido ganarse la vida más que escribiendo tonterías. ¿Cómo acabaremos?

I understand the author's position because she has lived with the sponsorship of CONACYT for many years in another country. The street vendors do not benefit anybody, only themselves. I hope that you don't contribute to help them with their claims to preserve an activity out of law. It is shameful to read your article. To support an activity out of law shows no intelligence. This is what we get from the intellectuals who live from the support of the government and who only now how to make a living writing bullshit.

Isa 22th March 2009 11:00 PM

Maestra: si usted ha vivido y estudiado en los ultimos años en Europa, entiendo que no tenga ni la mínima idea de los que se vivía en el Centro Histórico. Por otra parte me parece difícil entender que una persona con sus estudios, sea una clienta habitual de personas que están en la informalidad y arruinan a los comerciantes establecidos y cometen ilícitos como robarse la luz que los que sí vivimos en el DF pagamos y muy caro. No es congruente , creo que en algo miente usted.

If you have lived and studied during the last years in Europe, I understand that you have no idea what was happening in the city centre. It is difficult for me to understand that a person with your level of studies is a regular client of people working in the informality. These people ruin the established traders and are criminals because they stole the electricity from the rest of the people who pay for these services.

Fortino Hernández 22th March 2009 11:00 PM

No suelo enviar correos de este tipo, pero me parece ocioso defender algo que no tiene sentido, los ambulantes roban luz, espacio, contaminan y agreden a transeúntes, a mi me atocado ver como se se juntan para golpear a personas que llegaron a menerles algun puesto, dejemos de politizar y vender sueños, estas personas no deben estar ahí, si estan es por que nustras autoridades no estan haciendo correctamente su trabajo.

It is vicious to defend something that cannot be defended. The street vendors steal electricity, space; they pollute and are aggressive with pedestrians. I have seen how they come together and attack people that have moved their stall by accident. These persons must not be there, they keep using the streets because the authorities are not doing their job properly.

Leobardo 22th March 2009 11:00 PM

Lilia perdoname la expresión, pero me parece que "te fumaste algo" antes de escribir este artículo, respeto tu opinion mas no la comparto, me parece que comer tacos en la calle es solo eso y no implica nada mas, comprar cosas robadas, piratas, o importadas sin permiso, es un DELITO por muy honrado que sea el que te lo vende(90% de la mercancía que se vende es de esta procedencia). Los ambulantes en el centro historico o en cualquier otro lugar, son una pesadilla, estorban el libre transito, ensucian las calles, y venden cosas robadasde dudosa procedencia. Me parece que si finalmente regresan a ocupar las calles, no es porque a la gente le encante caminar entre empujones para comprarle al señor del puestito, sino por corrupción de autoridades, miedo a las marchas, por la situación economica del país y la cantidad de desempleo.

Lila I am sorry but I think you were under drugs when you wrote this article. I respect your opinion but I disagree with you. To eat tacos in the streets, buy illegal goods, piracy, imported goods is out of law; this is the case of 90% of the goods sold in the city centre. The street vendors in the city centre, and in other parts of the city, are a nightmare, they obstruct the traffic, pollute the environment and sell goods from dubious origin. If they come back to the streets after they are evicted is not because people like them but because of the corruption, the fear of social mobilisations, the economic situation of the country and the high rate of unemployment.

Sofía 28th March 2009 11:00 PM

Es interesante la polémica que ha generado un artículo cuyo objetivo, según mi punto de vista, no era redimir al ambulante, sino presentar un punto de vista más neutro o basado en la tolerancia pluricultural. Imagino que la mayoría de personas que se sienten indignadas, ofendidas o burladas con la publicación del artículo de la Maestra Oriard o bien es porque se encontraban en la parte afectada o bien, porque la ceguera del problema de antaño les ha impedido leer lo que creo que es la parte más importante del mismo: "Es claro que URGE UN MARCO DE REGULACIÓN para el ambulante que establezca el TIPO DE MERCACÍAS, lugares PERMITIDOS, el NÚMERO de vendedores y su CONTRIBUCIÓN por el uso de un espacio común". ¿¿¿En qué parte se da apoyo a los ladrones, evasores de impuestos, vendedores de carne de perro o toreros al por mayor??? Tiene toda la razón Andrés (comentario 17) al hablar de una sociedad que aún no está lista para muchas cosas, por ejemplo, escuchar opiniones contrarias y reflexionar sobre las mismas.

The polemic that the article has generated is interesting. The objective, from my point of view, is not to defend street vending but to present a different point of view based on multicultural tolerance. I

imagine that most of the people who feel offended with the article are influenced negatively by the previous situation, which do not let them understand the main idea of the article: 'It is clear that a regulatory framework is needed to define the kind of goods to be sold in the market, the places, the number of vendors and their contribution for the use of public space'. I don't understand how this statement supports criminal activity? I agree with Andrés (comment No. 17) our society is not ready for many things, for example, to read, understand and take into account different opinions.

Tomas

The first person I contacted in the market was Tomas, a friend of a friend. His profile intrigued me from the beginning as well as his capacity to understand and explain the functioning of the market. In fact, he has a BA in psychology from a well-known university. He lives in the city centre core area in a *vecindad* with his family and fellow street vendors. The leaders of ASVA, the group he belongs to, also live in the same *vecindad*. These details show to what extent spatial and social relations are knit together in this place. Tomas became a key informant, a guide to the place and an important conduct to meet other important informants in the area who only offered to help me because of my connection to Tomas. Indeed, personal relations are critical to obtaining information in this place.

Tomas is a qualified street entrepreneur and a local inhabitant; he is 27 years old and runs his own business in stall 141 on Aztecas Street. I spent two weeks at his stall, from late November to early December, 2010. Together, we visited the North Sector where he explained its commercial functionality.

Some of the aspects about the market and the neighbourhood that Tomas taught me are explained in the following paragraphs.

Tomas taught me how to notice and identify the origin of the commodities. Asian imports, for example, are specialised in few business lines, like socks or leather bags. Products are mass manufactured so, in general, each item has a code on the tag. Products fabricated in the metropolitan area are manufactured in a more rudimentary way. These products don't have tags. Asian imports are generally packaged in thinner bags and their commercial strategy is based on good looks and low quality. The locally manufactured goods are less sophisticated, but in general use real leather and the sewing is of a higher quality. This information was useful to do the mapping of stalls selling imports and stalls selling national products, on the basis of observation.

I learned to identify local traders from those coming from the outside by the way locals dress and talk. Local leaders in general use motorcycles to move faster and control their territories. By knowing this, I was able to broadly identify the different people that operate in the area, and observed that, in general, local people have better positions in

the market as qualified entrepreneurs, leaders, shop owners, etc. while people who come from the outskirts tend to rent places or work for the local leaders¹⁰².

Other codes that Tomas helped me to identify were the ones related to the relationships between the locals and the outsiders. Even if a person does not know a fellow local directly, as soon as they recognise themselves as locals, a relationship of fraternity is immediately established. Tomas, as a local, has access to direct supply chains, better prices, and the 'local' treatment, while vendors coming from the outside cannot have these privileges. Asian nationals must follow another code; they cannot sell directly in the streets, as this is considered an exclusive activity for Mexicans. This creates a system that is self-regulated through the establishment of local codes, which clearly benefits the local people and their businesses.

He talked to me about the Tepito emerging culture which is based upon the search for power. Local youngsters admire successful entrepreneurs, leaders and drug dealers, due to their capacity to control people and make money. Young people, Tomas explained, do not want to study or pursue a career; they want to become 'The boss'. This is clearly expressed in the song 'God's giving' in Spanish '*Don de Dios*' by the Tepito-based band Cartel de Santa. The song says 'money is money' ('*feria es feria*') meaning that the value of money is undeniable; '...and money is the boss, by any means including violence' ('*feria es jefe a lo cabrón*'); 'to become the boss is what any child of the neighbourhood wants to be' ('*porque feria es lo que cualquier morrito del barrio quiere llegar a ser: jefe a lo cabrón*'). The dominant aspirations of local people and the values of local culture are fundamental to understand the principles that guide the organisation of the territory: money, power and domination.

The analyses in which Tomas played an important role were: the understanding of the functioning of the street market at the North Sector scale, the mappings in the Aztecas Street market and the analysis of stall 141, which he owns.

Victoria and Carmen

Victoria and Carmen, aged 55 and 60, are the actual leaders of the ASVA, a group located in the west side of Aztecas Street, between Apartado and Costa Rica Streets. Their leadership was inherited from their mother Tony, original leader of the area since the

¹⁰² A Master's dissertation was done by Bruno Baroni about the different groups of street vendors in Mexico City's downtown area (MA thesis - MIT 2007, available from the MIT site).

1960s. Tony passed away in 2012 during the elaboration of this thesis. Victoria and Carmen agreed to sit for two in-depth interviews because the parents of Tomas, neighbours of the leaders, directly asked for their support regarding my research. This exchange of 'favours' is a recurrent practice in local culture.

The first interview took place in their *vecindad* on Perú Street, in the city centre core area and lasted three hours (02/12/2010). I asked the leaders if I could record the interview and they accepted. When I started recording the conversation, however, I noticed that they had moderated their discourses. I then decided not to record the interview in order to obtain more honest and straightforward answers. Instead, I took notes and wrote a report immediately afterwards. I started the interview by explaining the objectives of the research and pointing out clearly the kind of information that I sought. After doing this, I let the leaders speak freely.

They gave me information about the evolution of the Aztecas street market through the years. It was difficult to obtain precise information about the time; they established references by means of personal experiences. They remembered the political administrations with whom they had negotiated; this facilitated the reconstruction of the Aztecas street market as well as their relation to the city administrations.

I asked the leaders if I could conduct a survey stall-by-stall; they accepted and supported me during this endeavour. The day I administered the questionnaires, one of the daughters of Victoria came with me, but was not present during the interviews. She asked the traders to help me and this further facilitated the process. In the cases in which traders didn't want to answer, their decision was respected.

The second interview was held one year later, on 29/01/2012, at Victoria's stall on Aztecas street. She gave me additional details about the political organisation of the groups and the kind of negotiations made with the city authorities.

Victoria and Carmen helped me to understand the relation they had established with the city authorities over time and the evolution of the group. They also offered valuable support to conduct the survey with Aztecas Street stall operators within ASVA territory, in order to obtain information about the social organisation of the street market. The maps I produced using the ASVA survey are confidential, as agreed with the leaders.

Carlos

Carlos, aged 55, sells garments in his stall in the Aztecas street market; he also belongs to the ASVA. He was born in the Tepito neighbourhood and lived with his family in *vecindad* No. 4 on CT Street. I met him while conducting the survey on Aztecas Street. His profile caught my attention, and I asked him if he could show me the *vecindad* and help me to reconstruct its story.

Carlos is an architect. His parents had shoe stalls at the Bartolomé Square in the Tepito centre; they were relocated to the closed markets in 1957. When he finished studying his preference was to be a street vendor in the Tepito neighbourhood as he could earn more money. In 2001, Carlos participated in the design of the permanent structures that cover the street market, which were financed by the vendors themselves. This detail clearly shows the capacity of the street vendors to give physical form to the streets.

His family decided to leave the *vecindad* when he was finishing his BA in Architecture because problems with drug dealers were on the upswing during the 1990s. His family kept the dwelling as a storage space, however.

Like many people from Tepito, Carlos now lives in Aragon, a middle class neighbourhood near the Tepito market. His cousin still lives in *vecindad* No. 4 and helps Carlos with the street stall. I cross-referenced information with him to reconstruct the story of the *vecindad*. His education as an architect and experience as a local street vendor were very useful to understand the spatial and social organisation of Tepito.

We visited *vecindad* No. 4 on the CT Street for the first time on the 28th of December, 2010. This is the same street that Tomas had previously told me it was so dangerous. Before arriving to the street, Carlos told me not to be afraid as he is a local. I was recording our conversation when a local drug dealer approached aggressively and questioned Carlos. The dealer reminded him that he couldn't bring anybody to the place. Carlos became angry due to the intrusion; he said that he was just talking to me on the street and he was not saying anything about their businesses (field trip notes LO-28/12/2010). This anecdote shows on one hand the difficulties to do research in this context, and on the other how the codes of conduct are enforced to protect the local businesses, by subordinating the liberty of community members even to just 'talk on the street'.

Carlos helped me with the analysis of the transformation of *vecindad* No. 4 on CT Street.

Mario

Although retired, Mario used to be a police officer in the Tepito area; he grew up in this neighbourhood. He is about 75-80 years old. He was born in the Tepito neighbourhood, but moved out with his family in the late 1990s because of the distribution and consumption of drugs throughout the neighbourhood. He used to live on Aztecas Street, *vecindad* No. 63, where he still owns property. He is a qualified informant, as he knows the Tepito neighbourhood very well.

I visited the neighbourhood with Mario five times in 2010 and two times in 2012 to complete some missing information. I talked to him about many subjects regarding the place. I listened carefully to what he had to say, and I didn't try to direct the conversations to certain topics. For example, Mario talked about the local dishes, sports and stories of some inhabitants; this kind of information could be considered irrelevant to my research, but in fact, it is part of the local culture that I intended to understand.

Mario helped me to recognise the transformation of the neighbourhood by explaining how the neighbourhood existed prior to its current organisation. He also helped me with the analysis of *vecindad* No. 63 on Aztecas Street, where he spent his childhood and still owns property. We worked on some comparative maps of the uses and relationships in *vecindad* No. 63.

Alfonso

Alfonso Hernández is the Director of the Centre for Tepito Studies (CETEPIS) and the chronicle of the Tepito neighbourhood, where he grew up. The CETEPIS represents the mainstream intellectual discourse of Tepito. This centre is supported by groups of traders in the Tepito market area.

I visited Alfonso for the first time in 2010. We had two in-depth interviews and did one visit to the market area. In 2012, I asked Alfonso for special help to understand the functioning of the unions, the tensions or alliances among them and their spatial distribution. This information was difficult to obtain as it constitutes evidence of the informal relations that are established between the city government and the street vendors. Alfonso kindly shared valuable information with me, namely, the archives of the Cuauhtémoc borough Markets Office during the Camacho Solís administration (1988-1993).